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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe the structures of and decision-making processes within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and government agencies concerned with education at all geopolitical levels, and to describe the dynamics of the interrelationships between the CPSU and the government. The study is based on data collected from documents published in the USSR and in the United States, and on information obtained from a series of interviews during 1962 with: members of the Communist Party, a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, ministers of education, chairmen of city boards of education, inspectors of schools, and various administrators and faculty of institutes of higher education. Questions discuss patterns of decision making, policy change procedures, and the distribution and exercise of power and authority; questions for further study are delineated in a final section. The primary conclusion is that the decision-making power resides in the CPSU's Central Committee, operating through democratic centralism. Appendices provide selected readings, a glossary of Russian terms, and a list of ministries and committees that administer higher education. (Author/DJB)

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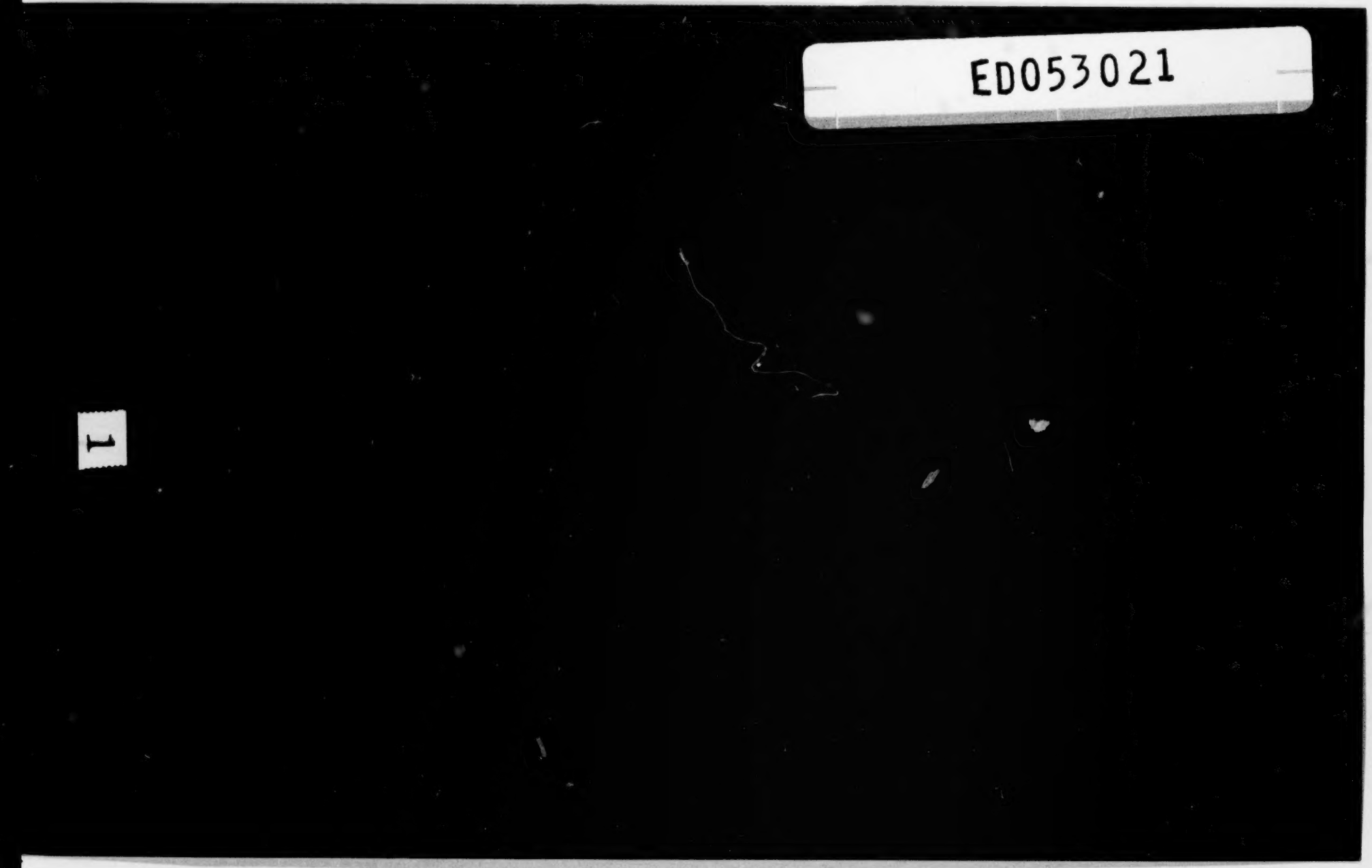

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Structure and Decision-Making in Soviet Education

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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Appreciation is expressed also for suggestions given the author concerning this study by the following American educators: Dr. George S. Counts, Southern Illinois University; Dr. Nicholas DeWitt, Indiana University; Dr. William K. Medlin, The University of Michigan; and Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, Michigan State University.

I. Introduction

Earlier Studies of Soviet Educational Administration

THE STUDY AND ANALYSIS of Soviet political, social, and economic systems is as old as the Soviet Union itself, but an intensive study of its *educational* system is a recent development. During the 1950's there was an increasing awareness of Soviet education, as evidenced by the work of such American scholars as Counts, DeWitt, and Johnson. It did not become a topic for extensive study, however, until after October 1957, when the Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik. Since then, inevitably, the question most often asked has been, "How did the Russians do it?"

As if in answer to this question, many scholars have turned their attention to the Soviet Union's educational system and have studied the curriculums, teaching methods, textbooks, and other instructional materials of Soviet schools in an attempt to understand the role that education has played in bringing to the USSR success in the field of rocketry and missiles.[1]

In the years since the launching of that first Sputnik, scholars in the United States and other Western countries have gained a better understanding of many aspects of the Soviet Union's educational system. Little light, however, has as yet been shed on its administration and the relationship of the Communist Party to the governmental structure responsible for education. Here and there in the literature, general descriptions of Soviet school administration, the relationship of Party to Government, and the flow of authority have appeared.[2]

---

[1] A partial list of recent scholarly explorations into this question would include the following: George Z. F. Bereday *and others, The Changing Soviet School;* George S. Counts, *The Challenge of Soviet Education;* Nicholas DeWitt, *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR* and *Soviet Professional Manpower;* Alexander G. Korol, *Soviet Education for Science and Technology;* William K. Medlin *and others* (U.S. Office of Education), *Soviet Education Programs;* and U.S. Office of Education, *Education in the USSR* and *Soviet Commitment to Education.* (For bibliographical details and annotations concerning these titles and others, see appendix, Readings.)

[2] Nicholas DeWitt, *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR,* p. 37–45; William K. Medlin, "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" in Theodore Reller *and* Edgar L. Morphet, *Comparative Educational Administration,* p. 113–31; Jaan Pennar, "Party Control Over Soviet Schools" in George Z. F. Bereday *and* Jaan Pennar, *The Politics of Soviet Education,* p. 45–56; Herbert C. Rudman, "School Administration" in Bereday *and others,* p. 109–39; and U.S. Office of Education, *Soviet Commitment to Education,* p. 6–9. (For bibliographical details and annotations, see appendix, Selected Readings.)

Usually, though, these descriptions have been smaller parts of an overall description of the Soviet educational system.

Previous research has delineated the lines of authority that emanate from the Central Committee of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) acting through its subsection on school affairs—the Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science (*Otdel Shkol, VUZov i Nauki*). The picture of the authority structure in Soviet schools is a clear one: authority is based upon the principle of oligarchical management and democratic centralism.

The Present Study

For the purposes of the present publication, authority is defined as the *right* to decide or act, and power as the *ability* to decide or act. In this construct, lie many questions as yet unanswered.

We know that in the United States the ability to act (power) does not always rest in the hands of those in authority (the right to act). Is this equally true in the Soviet Union? Previous study seems to indicate that an overlapping power structure—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—exists in Soviet education. If a director of an institute, for example, is not a member of the Party, his assistant director usually is. Where does the power lie? In governmental authority or in the overlapping power structure of Party membership? To what extent does power structure parallel or overlap authority structure?

Power, as described here, is delimited to four areas of decision-making: development of policy, execution of policy, latitude for implementation of policy, and finality of decision-making and policy implementation.

Purposes.—The present study has three main purposes; namely, to—

1. Describe the administrative structure of Party and governmental organizations concerned with education at all geopolitical levels.
2. Describe the decision-making process within Party and governmental agencies and the dynamics of the interrelationships between Party and Government.
3. Point the direction that further studies of Soviet school administration might profitably take.

This study seeks to answer such questions as the following:

1. After a decision has been implemented, if the decision or policy proves to be a bad one, what procedures does the school director follow to seek a change in policy?

2. How much latitude does the director of the school (the building principal) have in implementing policies that emanate from higher up in the administrative structure?
3. Is the degree of latitude for execution greater at upper levels of the administrative structure than at the lower, building level?
4. Does a Party member who is not in direct authority influence the direction of decision-making? If so, in what ways and to what degree?
5. Are the patterns of decision making uniform throughout the USSR or are there geopolitical differences?

These questions are indicative of the scope of this study but do not represent all of the concerns investigated.

Collection of data.—This study is based on data collected from documents published in the Soviet Union and in the United States and on information obtained from a series of interviews[3] with members of the Communist Party, a member of its Central Committee of the CPSU, ministers of education, chairmen of city boards of education, inspectors of schools, directors of institutes of higher education, professors of higher education, and directors of 11-year schools.

Following the present section, the four main sections proceed as follows: Section II describes the administrative structures of Party organizations from the all-union level down through the union-republic, regional (*oblast*), large-city (*gorod*), district—urban and rural (*raion*), and basic administrative unit levels. Section III describes the administrative structures of governmental units at each of the same five geopolitical levels. Section IV turns to an analysis of the decision-making process at each level and of the interrelationships that exist *within* the Party apparatus and Government structure, and describes the relationships *between* these two entities. Section V turns its attention to areas needing further study: school administration and the relationship of Party to Government. It attempts to bring some focus on questions still unanswered and on administrative processes still unexplored.

[3] These interviews took place in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev during the fall of 1962.

II. The Administrative Structure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union[1]

THE CPSU IS ORGANIZED along territorial and production subdivisions. Primary Party organizations—the basic organizations—are established wherever Communists are employed, or in some cases where they live; and they are related to Party organizations that are coextensive with political subdivisions. As shown in figure 1, the geopolitical subdivisions descend in order of highest to lowest from the all-union level to the union-republic, regional, large-city, district, and basic employment or production levels. Missing from the figure are the Party organizations at the territorial (*krai*) and autonomous regional levels. These groups were not included in the figure because the *krai* and autonomous regions are not common geopolitical subdivisions in the USSR, but are peculiar to only one or two union-republics. In those cases where they do exist, however, Party organizations also exist. The *krai* and the autonomous region would be located between the union-republic and the regional or *oblast* levels.

A Party organization serving a given area is always higher than any Party organization serving part of that area. For example, the primary Party unit is always subject to the authority of the district Party group and it, in turn, is subject to the authority of the Party organization above it. This principle extends all the way up through the ranks to the all-union level.

Theoretically, the highest administrative group in Party organization is the congress (in the case of the Communist Parties of the union-republics and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), the conference (at the regional, city, and district levels), and the general meeting (in the case of primary Party organizations). In practice, each of these groups elects an executive group called a "committee" (in the case of regional, city, district, and primary organizations) and "Central Committees" (in the case of union-republics and the all-union Party organization). These committees act as the executive body and conduct all of the regular routines of Party work.

---

[1] This section II is based in large measure on *Ustav Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskoyo Sayuza*, Prinyat XXII Syezdom KPSS, 31 Oktyabrya 1961 (Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Adopted at the 22d Congress, CPSU, Oct. 31, 1961). Moscow, 1961.

Memberships on these committees are rotated periodically and usually no member of a committee serves longer than three terms. Occasionally, if the situation warrants, ". . . particular Party officials may, by virtue of their generally recognized prestige and high political, organizational and other qualities, be successively elected to leading bodies for a longer period. In that case, a candidate is considered elected if not less than three-quarters of the votes are cast for him by secret ballot." [2] Party members who leave committees because their terms have expired are eligible to be reelected at subsequent elections.

At the all-union level, at least one-fourth of the Central Committee is replaced at each election. At the union-republic level, at least one-third of the committee is rotated, and at lower levels one-half of the committee is changed. All-union congresses are generally convened at least once every 4 years, although special sessions may be called more often if the occasion warrants. Congresses of union-republics and regional, city, and district conferences are generally convened once every 2 years. Party meetings at the primary Party level are called at least once a month.

With the exception of primary Party organizations (see fig. 1), each congress or conference, at the various administrative levels, elects an auditing commission. The basic responsibility of the auditing commission is a fiscal one; it audits the accounts of the treasury and of the various enterprises of the committees at each geopolitical level.

Since the Central Committee of the CPSU may include as many as 350 members, it elects a Presidium, which directs the work of the Central Committee. The Central Committee at the union-republic level may organize a secretariat if it so desires. All other committees do not elect a secretariat or a Presidium.

At every geopolitical level the committee elects an administrative department or bureau, which in turn is composed of many departments designed to implement the decisions of the various congresses and conferences and conduct the routine work of the committees. One of these departments is the Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science (*Odtel Shkol, VUZov i Nauki*). At the all-union level, the Central Committee not only organizes a Federal Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science, but in addition organizes a bureau for the Russian Soviet Federalized Socialist Republic (RSFSR). This bureau also includes a department of science, schools, and culture.

[2] Ibid., p. 15.

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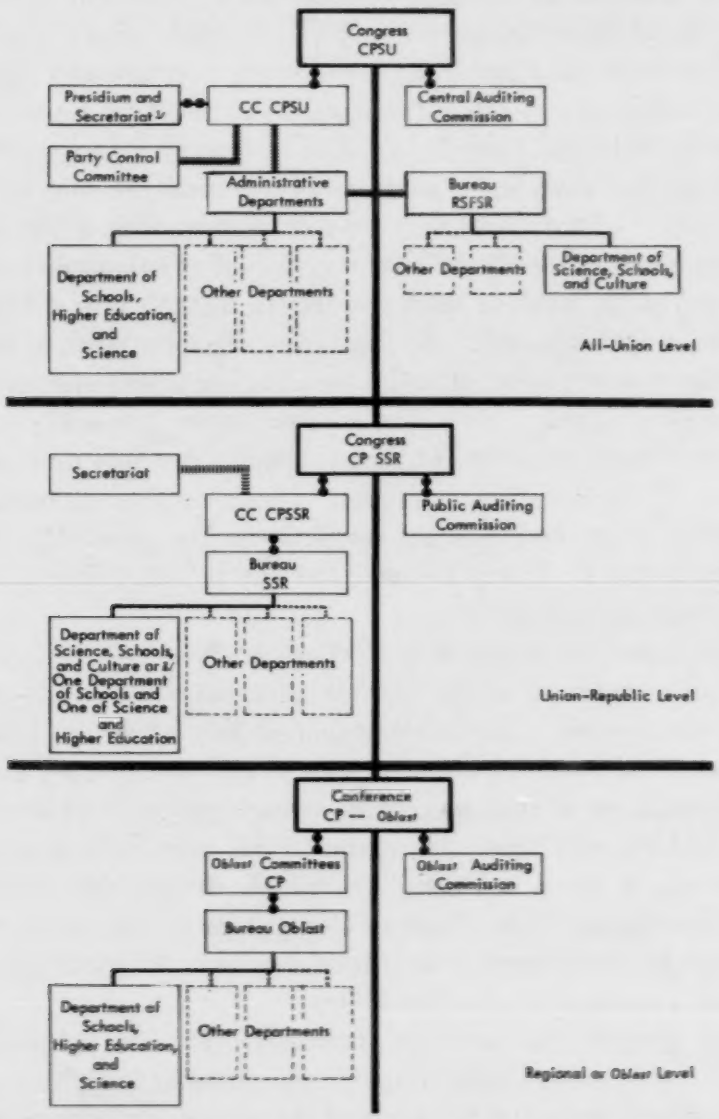
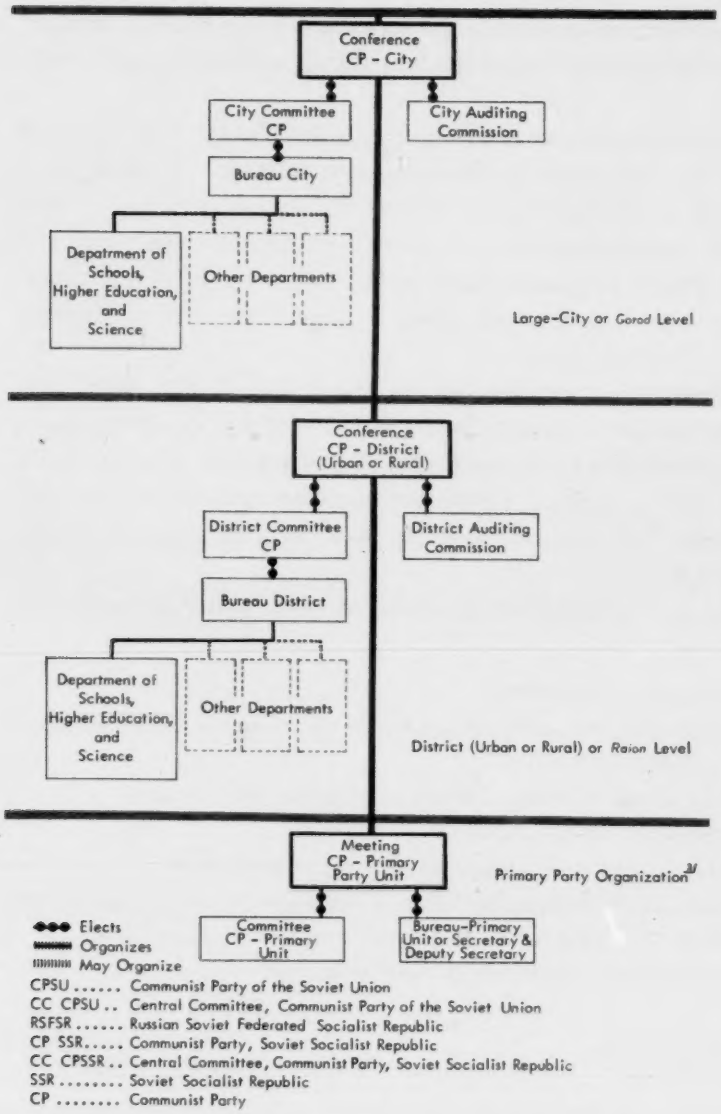
Figure 1.—Administrative Structure of the Communist Party



At the all-union level the Central Committee of the CPSU also organizes a Party Control Committee. This committee serves two all-union functions:

> **It is an inspector and an enforcer of Party discipline, charged with responsibility for taking action against Communists who violate the program, the rules of the Party, or Party discipline.**
>
> **It acts as an appeal committee in those cases where members have been expelled or have had Party penalties imposed upon them at the union-republic, *krai*, or autonomous regional level.**

Primary Party organizations are the basic administrative units of the Party apparatus. Although primary Party organizations operate



[1] Once elected, this body carries on the daily routines of Party work.

[2] Under union-republic policy. [3] Formed in schools, factories, commercial establishments, farms, housing units, ministries, the Soviet army, etc.

at the lowest administrative level, they are by no means unimportant, for it is through these organizations that the most meaningful, practical work is carried out among Party members and within Soviet society in general.

Primary Party units are organized at places of employment—factories, State and collective farms, educational institutions, offices, units of the Soviet armed forces—in fact, wherever there are not fewer than three Party members employed. Primary Party organizations are also established on a residential basis in villages and urban apartment compounds. At those places which employ more than 50

Party members, smaller units of the general primary Party organization may be formed along department, shop, sectional, and team lines.

The highest administrative unit of the primary Party organization is the Party meeting, convened at least once a month. Once a year these meetings elect a bureau to serve for the ensuing year. Each primary Party unit determines the number of members to serve in the bureau. Primary Party organizations with fewer than 15 members do not elect a bureau, but instead elect a secretary and a deputy secretary.

In large enterprises that employ more than 300 Party members, primary unit Party committees may be formed. In this case, the shop, team, and departmental Party organizations are granted the status of complete primary Party units. These committees are elected for one year and their numerical composition is fixed by the general Party meeting or conference.

The primary Party organization is charged with the responsibility of—

- Admitting new members to the CPSU
- Educating Communists in "a spirit of loyalty to the Party cause, idealogical staunchness and communistic ethics"
- Organizing Marxist-Leninist study groups among the membership
- Exerting leadership at all establishments of employment
- Conducting agitational and propaganda work among the masses
- Serving as a "watchdog" committee against bureaucracy, negligence, extravagance at places of employment, and violations of state discipline
- Assisting city and district committees in their activities.

III. The Administrative Structure of Public Education in the Soviet Union

ALTHOUGH THIS BULLETIN has outlined in detail the administrative structure of the Communist Party and has treated it as a separate entity, the Party is in fact an integral part of the administrative structure of public education in the Soviet Union. Just how much of an integral part the Party really is will be seen in the section dealing with the process of decision-making in Soviet education. But to talk about the Party and its relationship to governmental agencies responsible for public education without treating them as separate entities is like talking about eating without at the same time detailing the processes of chewing, swallowing, and digesting—all of which make up the *gestalt*, "eating." So it is with a discussion of the administration of public education in the Soviet Union.

The administrative structure of Soviet public education is well-defined and highly organized. In theory, the structure suggests collective leadership; in practice, the same principles of organization which apply to the Party apply with equal vigor to Government. If we substitute the term "Government" for "Party," we can say that the concept of "democratic centralism" which underlies Party organization also applies to governmental organization. Democratic centralism, in this case, would include the following characteristics:

- **Strict governmental subordination of the minority to the majority is required.**
- **The decisions of higher bodies are obligatory for lower bodies.**
- **Periodic reports of subordinate governmental bodies to higher bodies are required and an elaborate system of inspection has been developed to implement this concept.**

In this section we shall examine the administrative structures of the union-republic Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, the organizational structure of ministries of education at the republic level, the organization of education at the regional, large-city

and district levels, and the organization of basic administrative units in public education—the individual school building.[1]

The Union-Republic Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education

The Ministry of Higher Education, USSR, was reorganized into the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education in June 1959. Before its reorganization, it was composed of 1 minister and 5 deputy ministers who were responsible for 13 functional administrative units. The ministry was subdivided into main administrations, administrations, and departments. Policy development within the ministry was conducted through a *collegium*, or board, that consisted of the minister, his deputies, and heads of main administrations, administrations, and departments. The members of the board were appointed by the Minister of Higher Education and approved by the Council of Ministers of the USSR. According to Soviet officials:

> At its meeting the board considers the most important matters pertaining to the methodology of teaching, scientific research, educational activities, management and finances of the higher and specialized secondary educational institutions, verification of performance and practical direction over schools of higher education that comes under the ministry; it (reviews) reports from the leading officials of the ministry and of the higher institutions . . . under it, and also of the ministers of higher education of the union-republics. . . .[2]

Since the reorganization of the ministry in 1959, information available to students of Soviet government and education has been sparse. It is not possible at this time to ascertain the precise configuration of the ministry's reorganized structure. A number of attempts have been made, however, to predicate an organizational structure based upon what was known to have been the components of the ministry before the reorganization, and upon scattered public statements and descriptions given by Soviet educational officials concerning the new ministry

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[1] A distinction needs to be made at this point among *all-union*, *union-republic*, and *republic* ministries. *All-union* ministries are those central government ministries which may have branch offices throughout the Soviet Union but which have no specific counterparts (e.g., Ministry for Construction of Power Stations, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Railways) in any of the 15 union-republics.

Union-republic ministries are those central ministries which coordinate activities in their respective fields for all of the USSR and which do have counterparts (e.g., Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education) in one or more of the 15 union-republics.

Republic ministries are those ministries in each of the 15 union-republics which have no central counterparts (e.g., Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice) coordinating activities throughout the USSR.

[2] Kathryn G. Heath. *Ministries of Education: Their Functions and Organization* (Bulletin 1961, No. 21—OE–14064). U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962. p. 577.

organization. For example, one such construction has been set forth by DeWitt:

> . . . As in the past, the ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education will have about ten functional units, such as personnel, accounting, planning, *Giprovuz* (design of higher education facilities), and library. And again, as in the past, attached to this ministry will be the Supreme Attestation Commission (VAK), which handles the certification of all academic-rank and advanced-degree personnel. The ministry will also continue to publish journals . . . and run its own publishing house (*Sovetskaia Nauka*) for texts, programs and instructional materials. The independent foreign affairs section will continue to deal with the selection and supervision of foreign students in the USSR and handle exchanges with foreign countries.[3]

Figure 2 is an *incomplete* chart predicated upon what most likely represents the organizational structure of the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. Alone of all the charts in this bulletin, this one is subject to the limitations inherent in any such projection. It is necessarily based on incomplete data, scattered references to present positions within the new ministry, and statements by ministry officials concerning the functions that the new Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education serves.

The new Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education has as its head a minister who is also a member of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. He is assisted by two deputy ministers. The chief policymaking group of the ministry is still the board consisting of the minister—who serves as chairman of the board—his deputy ministers, and the heads of main administrations, administrations, and departments. Still attached to the ministry is the State publishing house and the Supreme Attestation Commission. The commission appoints all senior professors and university administrators throughout the Soviet Union and conducts examinations for advanced degrees, and it is the sole authority for the awarding of doctorates.

The exact number of functional administrative units is unknown, but in all likelihood DeWitt's estimate of approximately 10 such units is an accurate one, for there is little evidence to indicate that the function of the new union-republic ministry will be very different from that of the old one. Recent Party decisions and discussions of proposed revisions of the Constitution of the USSR lead to the belief that a trend is developing in the Soviet Union towards more centralization of authority. If this perception is accurate, there is every reason to believe that the union-republic ministry will be more active in the administration of higher education in the USSR than was first envisioned in 1959.

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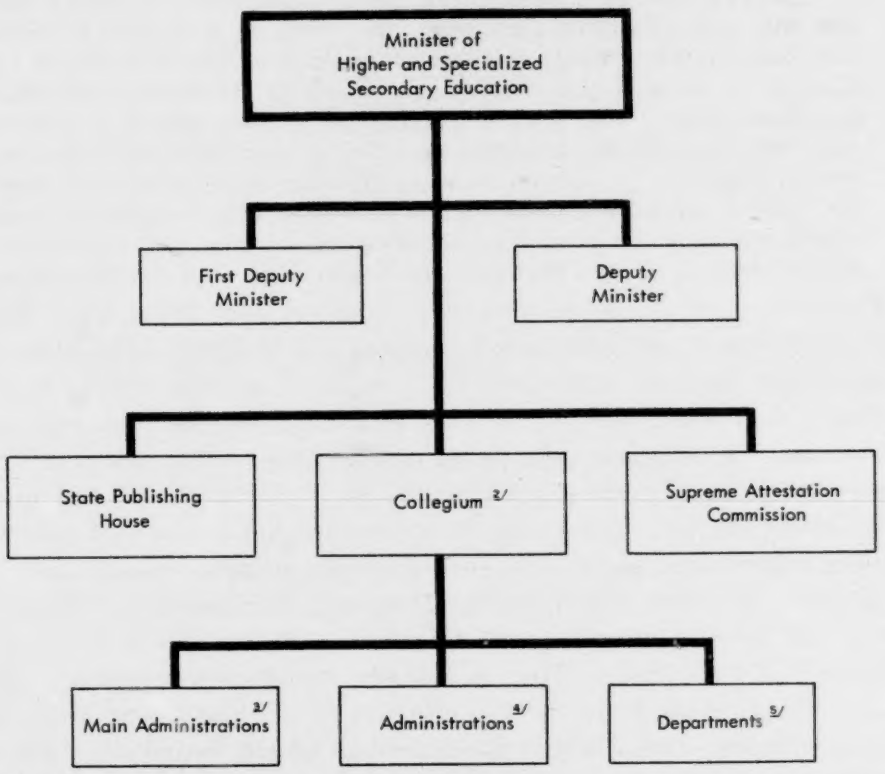
[3] Nicholas DeWitt. *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR*, p. 225. Specific identification of ministry offices and officials before the 1959 reorganization can be found in *Biographic Directory No. 272, Directory of Soviet Officials*, vol. I. U.S. Department of State, Division of Biographic Information, 1960. p. 41–42.

Figure 2.—Projected Administrative Structure of the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, USSR [1]



[1] See appendix C for list of ministries and committees administering higher education in the 15 Soviet Union-republics. [2] Composed of the minister, deputy ministers, and heads of main administrations, administrations, and departments. [3] Such as Polytechnical and Machine Building, Higher Institutions, and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions. [4] Such as the Training Methods Administration. [5] Such as the Foreign Relations Division.

Republic Ministry of Education

The union-republic Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education has no counterpart in any single, administrative agency for preschool, elementary, or secondary education. Instead, the administration of these education levels is delegated to each of the 15 union-republics through its ministry of education.[4]

[4] In conversations with Soviet officials in the fall of 1962, the writer of this bulletin was told that a central Ministry of Education of the union-republic type was contemplated. Discussions are now taking place concerning modifications of the Constitution of the USSR and it is planned that within a year 15 republic ministries of education will be under the authority of one central Ministry of Education. These Soviet officials insist that the new union-republic Ministry of Education will serve as a coordinating agency only and will not centralize authority. They say that since the implementation of the 1958 school law is proceeding unevenly within the Soviet Union, this new central Ministry of Education will help to coordinate the efforts of all-union republics and speed up the implementation of the 1958 school law.

Figure 3 describes the administrative structure of one of the 15 ministries of education, that of the Ministry of Education, RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic). Since this ministry is the recognized leader in Soviet education, one can assume that the administrative structures of the other 14 republic ministries of education do not differ significantly. The Ministry of Education, RSFSR, is the only one of the 15 republic ministries that maintains an Academy of Pedagogical Sciences which has attached to it a number of institutes.

The chief administrative officer of the ministry is the Minister of Education. He is assisted by a staff of six vice ministers of education. Each vice minister is responsible for one aspect of education in the union-republic.

Attached to the Ministry of Education is a Central Institute for the Advanced Studies for Teachers (*Centralnoyo Institut Usovershenstovovanyo Uchitelie*), the technical and teaching-aid industries which are responsible for the production of visual aids; and two State publishing houses—the State Publishing House for Children's Literature (*Dietgiz*) and the State Publishing House for Teaching and Pedagogical Materials (*Uchpedgiz*).

The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic), supports nine scientific-research institutes: (1) The Research Institute of Psychology, (2) The Research Institute of Theory and History of Pedagogy, (3) The Research Institute of Artistic Education, (4) The Research Institute of Production Education, (5) The Research Institute of Nationality Schools, (6) The Research Institute of Physical Education, (7) The Research Institute of Defectology, (8) The Research Institute of General and Polytechnical Education, and (9) The Research Institute of Pedagogy in the city of Leningrad. Each maintains a full staff of research workers, and attached to each are a number of experimental schools which afford the opportunity to staff researchers to carry on experimentation with the help of children and teachers.

In addition, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has attached to it the Ushinsky Library, the Pedagogical Archives, the Education Museum, the Museum of Toys, and its own academy press.

Republic ministries of education are in theory independent of each other and develop their own regulations concerning textbooks, methods of instruction, and educational program. They allocate funds for school operating expenses such as faculty salaries, supplies, new construction, and repair and maintenance. They appoint and supervise teachers and directors. In practice, however, the rules governing each of the 15 republic ministries of education are almost identical

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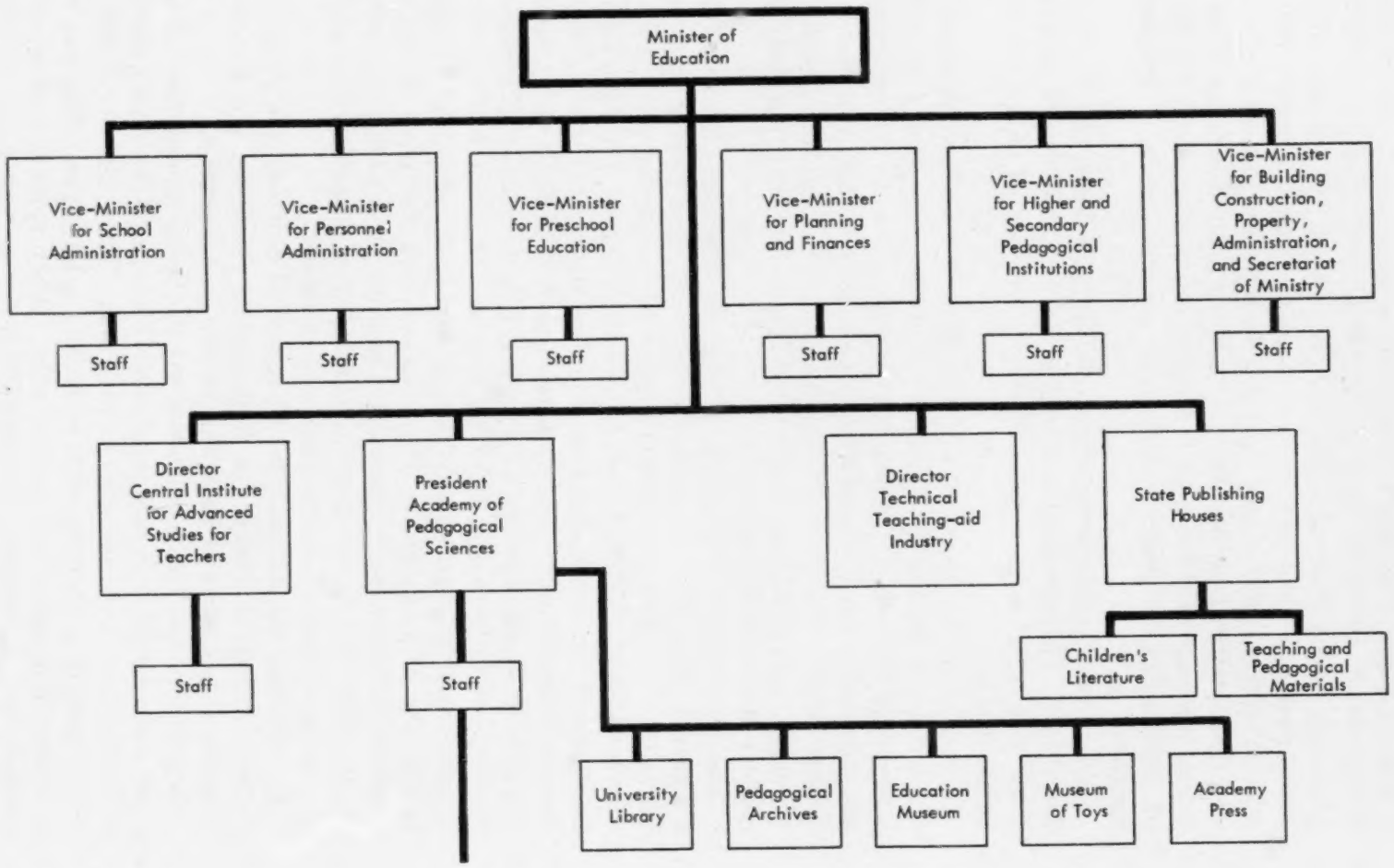
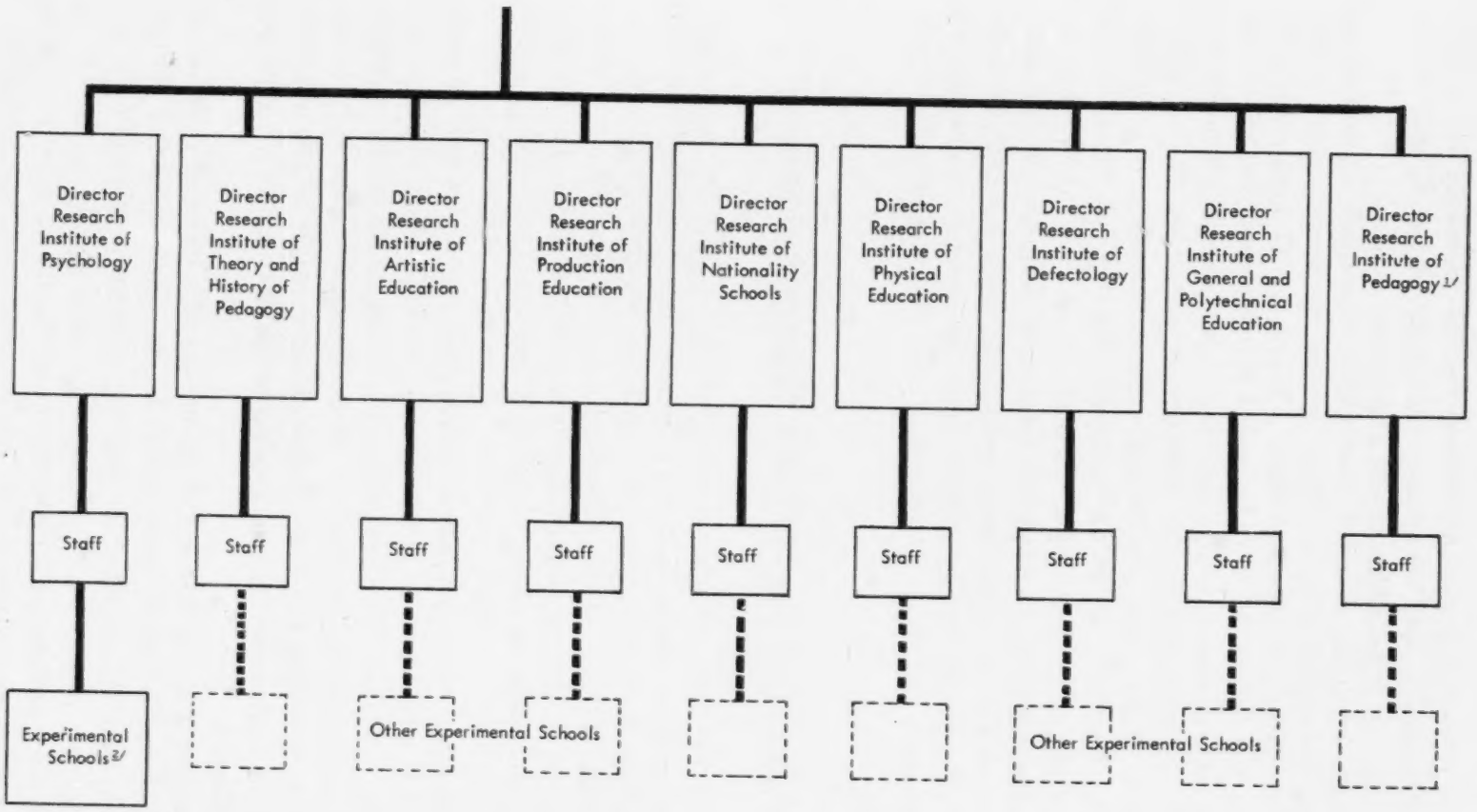
Figure 3.—Administrative Structure of the Ministry of Education, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic





[1] Recent information indicates that a 10th research institute has developed out of this institute. It is called the Institute of Evening (Shift) and Correspondence Secondary Schools.
[2] Experimental schools in varying numbers are attached to each institute.

except for a few minor regional differences; the pacesetter for all preschool, elementary, and secondary education in the USSR is the Russian republic and its Ministry of Education.

Although we speak here of 15 republic ministries of education, there are, more precisely, 32 offices within the Soviet Union which are called Ministries of Education. There are 17 autonomous republics in the USSR, 13 of them in the Russian republic. They administer their schools through their own ministries of education, but these are subordinated to the ministry of education of the union-republic in which they are located. As an example, the Buriyat-Mongolian Republic has its own ministry of education which in turn is responsible to the Ministry of Education, RSFSR. If we add the autonomous republics we come to a total of 32 ministries of education in the Soviet Union. Since these are special cases, however, we refer to these only briefly in this bulletin and will continue to describe the administrative structure in terms of the major geopolitical subdivisions.

Regional, Large-City, and District Departments of Education

As we have seen, it is possible to identify at least five major geopolitical subdivisions in the Soviet Union. If we include the special cases such as the territory, and the autonomous regions, we have seven such subdivisions. Ordinarily, however, the next major political division below the union-republic level is the region. In the Russian republic, as an example, there are 52 such regions. These in turn are subdivided into 2,600 districts. Extremely large cities such as Leningrad and Moscow are considered to be regions as well as cities. Figure 4 is a chart showing the interrelationships between large-city and district levels. This administrative structure shows the organization of education in Leningrad. Since Leningrad can also be considered as a region, the chart serves as an example of the organization of the region and its relationship to the next subdivision beneath it, the district.

Government in the Soviet Union consists of a series of interlocking soviets (councils) at all geopolitical levels. Following the political principle that an organization serving a given area is always in a superordinate position to those agencies serving only a part of that area, district soviets are subject to the authority of large-city or regional soviets and these in turn are subordinate to the authority of territorial or union-republic soviets.

As can be seen from figure 4, the district soviet is organized along the same general lines as its city or regional soviet, although in a more abbreviated form.

Each regional, city, or district soviet is composed of members usually elected on a one-candidate slate from commercial, educational, agricultural, and industrial establishments. In order to do its work efficiently, the soviet is composed of a number of different departments, which in turn are responsible for public utilities, urban and rural planning, schools, and the like. Illustrated in figure 4 is the organization of *one* of these departments, the Department of Public Education.

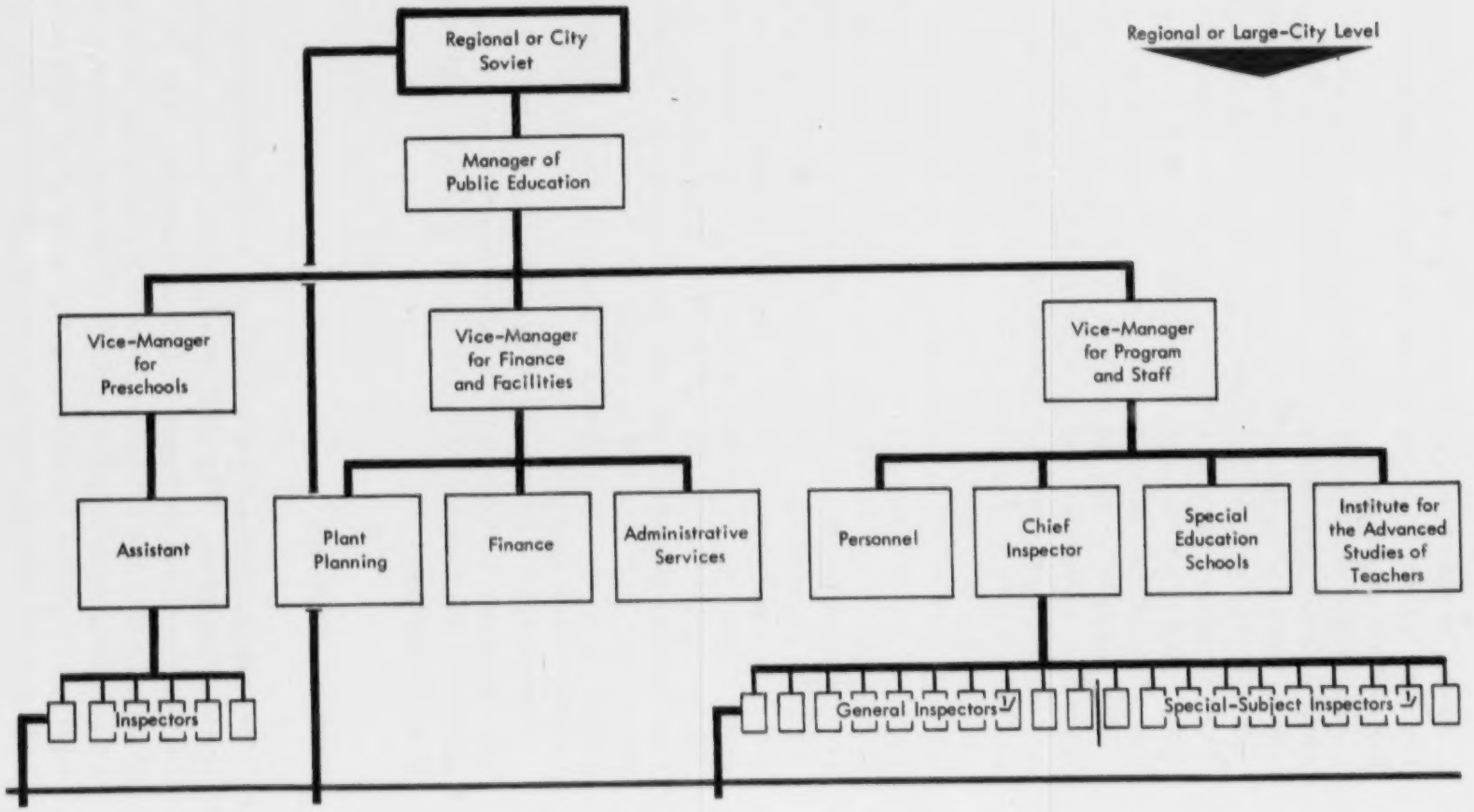
The manager of the department of public education is always a deputy who has been elected to the soviet. Usually, this deputy is appointed as manager of public education because of his prior pedagogical training and experience. Normally, he has been an administrator, for as a manager of a large-city department of education told this author, "To be a teacher is not enough; one must be an experienced administrator as well, for this is a complex administrative task." Since the term of office for a deputy is 2 years, the manager of the department of education receives a 2-year appointment. Initially, deputies are nominated by their fellow workers at their places of employment; but if a deputy becomes experienced in the soviet it is entirely possible that he might become well-known throughout the region or city—so well known, in fact, that every establishment in the region will nominate him for election. In this case, the deputy can look forward to serving in the soviet for many years, and if he is also the manager of the department of education, his tenure will be a long one.

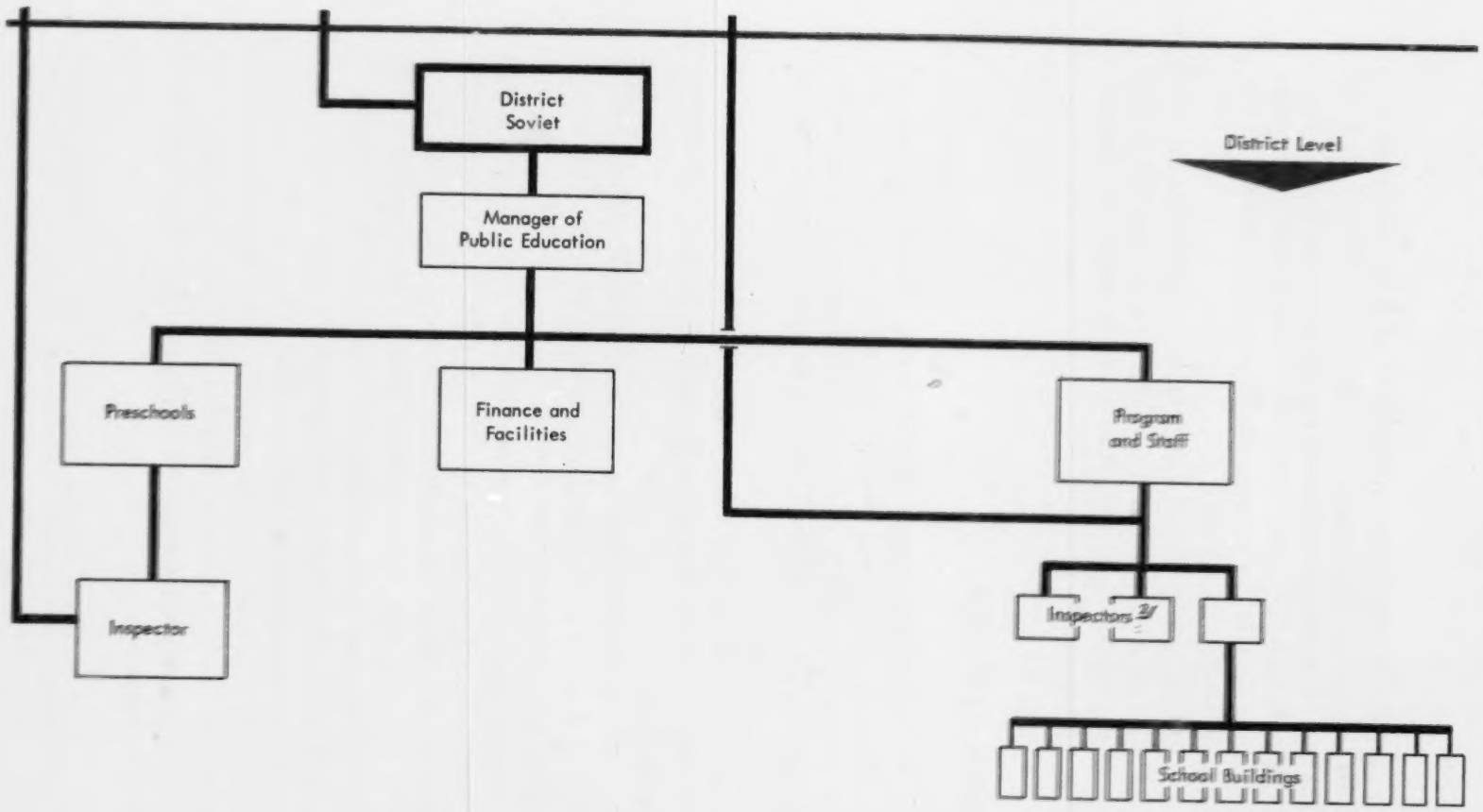
The manager of public education in the city of Leningrad has three vice-managers, heading three sections, respectively: Preschool Establishments, Finance and Facilities, and Program Development and Staff Utilization.

Preschool Establishments

The vice-manager of this section has a staff consisting of an assistant and six inspectors. The staff is responsible for all preschool establishments, such as kindergartens and day nurseries. The city of Leningrad is divided into 20 districts, and each district has one inspector for its preschool establishments. Each of the six inspectors at the city level is responsible for inspecting the work of his district inspectors and has as many as three or four district inspectors under his jurisdiction.

Figure 4.—Administrative Structure of Regional, Large-City, and District Departments of Education





[1] Each of the 10 general inspectors for the city and each of the 10 special-subject inspectors for the city has responsibility for 2 districts.

[2] Each of the 3 district inspectors has responsibility for 10 to 15 school buildings.

Finance and Facilities

This section is divided into three subsections: Plant Planning, Finance, and Administrative Services. All new construction and all major modifications of existing structures are planned under the leadership of the section's vice-manager. The administrative services subsection is responsible for the day-to-day administrative routines of the city department of public education.[5]

At the city level, budgets for the 20 districts are combined and funds are allocated to each district. These funds include money for major construction and for operational expenses such as supplies, instructional materials, and salaries.

Program Development and Utilization

This section is by far the largest of the three. The chief deputy manager of public education in the city of Leningrad is the head of this section, which is composed of four subsections: Personnel, Inspection, Special Education Schools, and the Institute for the Advanced Study of Teachers.

Personnel.—This subsection is responsible for the appointment of teachers, directors of secondary schools (grades 5–11), and noninstructional personnel.

Inspection.—The staff of this subsection is a large one, consisting of 20 inspectors—10 general education inspectors and 10 inspectors representing highly specialized subject-matter fields. Each inspector is assigned to two districts in which he supervises the work of the district inspectors. Each district in the city has 3 inspectors who are responsible for from 10 to 15 schools (a number which varies, depending upon the size of the district, city, and region). The unique feature of the district, city, and regional departments of education is their interlocking inspection system; regional or city inspectors inspect district inspectors, who in turn inspect individual administrators and their staffs.

Special Education Schools.—Ballet schools, music schools, art and drama schools, schools for mentally retarded children, and schools for physically handicapped students are the concern of the subsection dealing with special education.

[5] As can be seen in fig. 4, the district soviet also has a manager of public education, who in turn has a staff concerned with preschool establishments, finance and facilities, and program and staff. The district staff identifies needs for additional facilities and presents these needs to the city finance section for authorization to proceed with major construction. This same relationship exists for the section dealing with finance.

Institute for Advanced Study of Teachers.—The fourth subsection is responsible for the operation of institutes which form an integral part of the Soviet system of teacher training and which work exclusively with teachers who have previously graduated from a teacher-training institute. They are in essence graduate schools of education. Located centrally in many areas of the USSR, these institutes are administered through either the large-city or the regional department of education.

The 11-Year School

The smallest, and basic, administrative unit in the USSR's educational system is the 11-year school. As at all other administrative levels, the line-staff principle is followed with major emphasis given over to a line concept of authority. Figure 5 depicts a typical organization of an 11-year school. The 1958 school code calls for the organization of compulsory education through the eighth year. Presently three types of school are in existence: the elementary school (grades 1–4), the incomplete secondary school (grades 1–8), and the complete secondary school (grades 1–11). Some 4-year elementary schools still remain in isolated rural areas, but these schools are being replaced with either incomplete or complete secondary schools.

The main source of authority in each school building is the director. He is assisted by an administrative staff of six:

- the master for polytechnical education [6]
- an assistant director in charge of grades 1–4
- an assistant director in charge of grades 5–8
- an assistant director in charge of grades 9–11
- an assistant director for maintenance
- a pioneer leader.

The master for polytechnical education is the industrial specialist whose responsibilities include the placement of students in factories, farms, and businesses, the organization and development of programs of polytechnical education within the school, the requisition and the

[6] During a previous visit to the Soviet Union in 1958, the author of the present publication asked a school director to identify her most persistent administrative problem. She replied that she was basically a historian and felt incapable of administering a program of polytechnical education. This concern was echoed many times during that visit. Academicians were faced with administering and supervising programs totally divorced from their own previous experiences and felt that the short courses that the ministries of education were preparing for them would not adequately equip them to carry through their assignments successfully. This new administrative position is evidently one solution to this problem.

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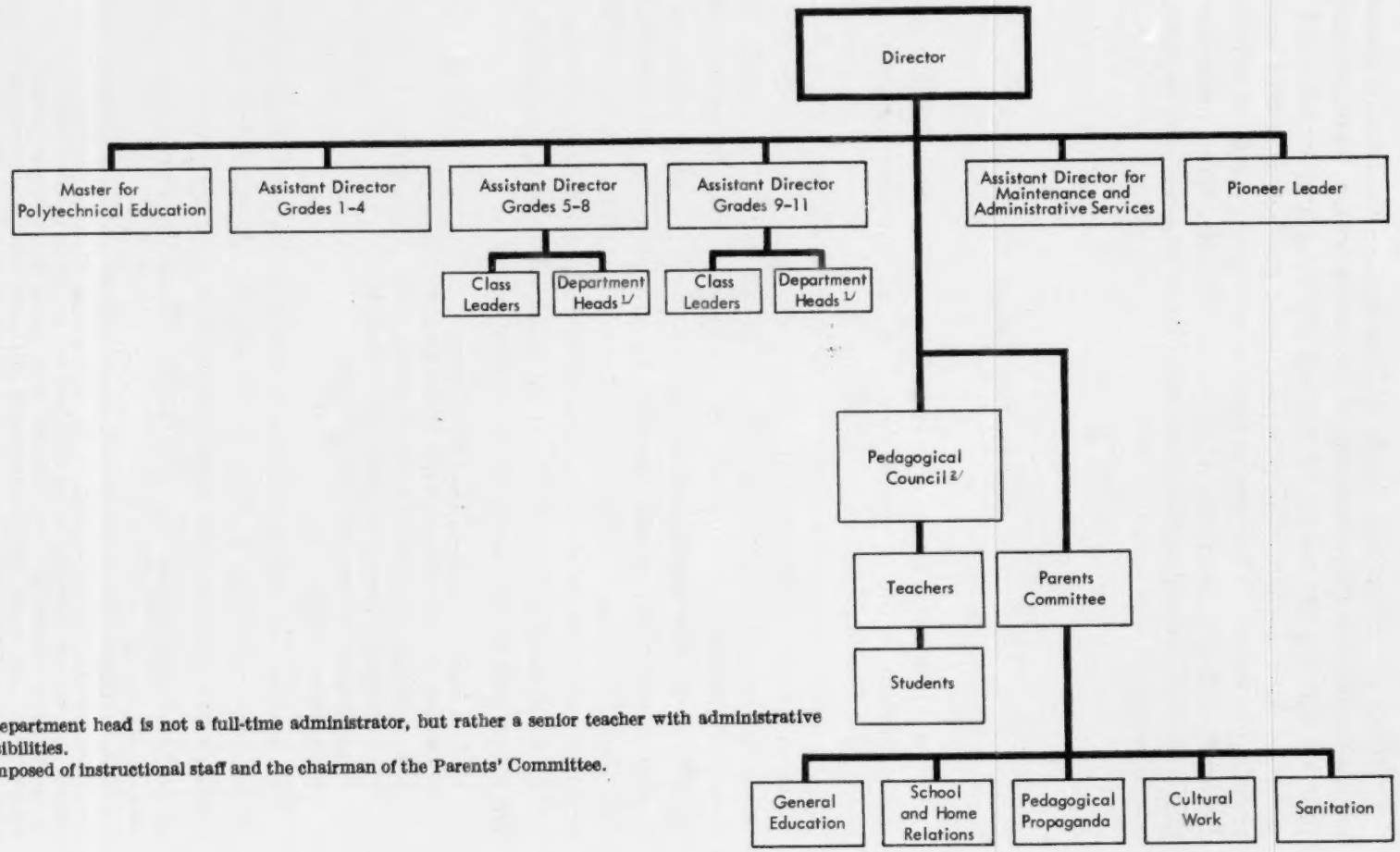
Figure 5.—Administrative Structure of the 11-Year School



[1] A department head is not a full-time administrator, but rather a senior teacher with administrative responsibilities.

[2] Composed of instructional staff and the chairman of the Parents' Committee.

use of machinery in the program, and the supervision of teachers of polytechnic education.

The assistant director in charge of the elementary program is a specialist in elementary education. During the elementary school years, teachers remain with their pupils for 4 years. There is no specialization in terms of subject matter, and teachers' specialties center around their ability to work with children of this age level. The assistant director's chief responsibility is the inservice training, supervision, and inspection of teachers and of the activities in which their pupils are engaged.

The assistant director in grades 5–8 (and his counterpart in grades 9–11) has more specialized assistance than does the assistant director in charge of the elementary grades, for beginning in grade 5, children have a different teacher for each subject and the work of the school centers around specialization in subject fields. The assistant director is the titular head of *all* of the departments within the grades for which he is responsible. Each subject, i.e., mathematics, science, literature, Russian language, foreign language, is organized into a department—if there are three or more teachers teaching the same subject—and has its own department head. In addition, a class leader is usually appointed. The class leader visits other teachers, consults with them about course content, and helps them with their instructional problems.

The assistant director for maintenance and administrative services is in a sense the executive officer on this staff. He is responsible for daily administrative routines, for supervising maintenance personnel within the building, for requisitioning supplies, and for the bookkeeping aspects of school administration.

The pioneer leader is generally a newly trained young person who works with the three youth groups to be found in an 11-year school: the *Octobrists*, ages 7–9; the *Pioneers*, ages 10–14; and the *Komsomol*—the Young Communist League—age 15 and older. The Pioneer leader plays an important role in the school, for although he may play a junior role in terms of the daily administration of the building, it is through the Pioneer leader that the Party works with the children. The Pioneer leader supervises the rituals connected with induction into each of the three youth organizations. He also supervises the ideological studies for pupils and the youth-group meetings, and advises the director on all matters pertaining to Party work among the children.

In addition to working with his administrative staff, the director also is chairman, pro tem, of the *school pedagogical council.*

> The pedagogical council is the chief instrument for faculty consideration or major educational problems . . . The council discusses the implementation of

educational decrees emanating from the Ministry of Education. . . . Although the director and teachers have nothing to do with the details of legislation, they do, nevertheless, discuss the possible ways that the Ministry of Education will choose to implement the new decisions. This kind of discussion helps them to anticipate some of the problems that they soon will face.[7]

The pedagogical council is composed of all instructional staff members, department heads, class leaders, assistant directors, the master of polytechnical education, the pioneer leader, the director, and the chairman of the school's parents committee.

The school's faculty and, in turn, its students are bound by the decisions of the pedagogical council. Individual teachers must act in concert with the majority decisions that they themselves had a part in discussing as members of the pedagogical council.

An integral and legal part of the organization of the building unit is a parents committee. The parents committee is an elected one and it comprises five subcommittees: General Education, School and Home Relations, Pedagogical Propaganda, Cultural Work, and Sanitation.[8]

General Education

This subcommittee concerns itself with the total educational program offered in the school. Evidently it is a "paper" committee, though, for as late as 1958, intensive study of a number of Soviet schools failed to turn up any evidence that such a committee was still operating.

School and Home Relations

Responsible for helping the school maintain high academic standards, this subcommittee works directly with the director and the class leaders. If a child receives more than two marks of "2" (D) during a week, the teacher or the director may give his name to this parents' group. The subcommittee then calls the child to the school and criticizes him for his low grades. The child's parents are also warned that he is not doing as well as he should do. If the parents are unable to improve the child's performance, the subcommittee informs the trade union or Party committee at the place of the parents' employment. If it so chooses, the Party may call a meeting to admonish the parents publicly for their failure and to "advise" them as to how they might make their child succeed in school. This drastic procedure, however, is not often needed.

[7] Herbert C. Rudman. "School Administration" in George Z. F. Beredy *and others, The Changing Soviet School.* p. 13.

[8] The author is indebted to Dr. Marian Edmond for data collected while she was a member of the Comparative Education Society's field study of Soviet education in the fall of 1958.

Pedagogical Propaganda

This subcommittee is responsible for organizing lectures and meetings among the parents. It often calls in teachers to explain teaching methods and to help answer questions that parents may have on school procedures. It works closely with the director of schools and helps him to take whatever steps are necessary to draw the home into closer contact with the schools' activities. As one textbook for the inservice training of teachers says:

> In our time, when there still is conflict with vestiges of capitalism that still exist in people's minds, the significance of close contact of family and school is particularly important. The director of the school strengthens the bonds with families of the students, and ought to propagandize among parents . . . Communistic attitudes. [In order to do this the director, working with the subcommittee, organizes] Sunday lectures on politics, pedagogy, agricultural themes of the program, cultivation of participation in district Party organizations, and general collective meetings on discussions of methods of disciplining children.[9]

Cultural Work

This subcommittee helps the director organize children's after-school circles, evening parties, and concerts; and helps the teachers provide escorts for school excursions to movies, museums, and the theater.

Sanitation

This subcommittee works with the school physician during his scheduled physical examinations of pupils enrolled in the school, inspects sanitary conditions in the school, and provides a parent for participation in hall duty, lunch duty, and other peripheral nonteaching duties.

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[9] A. N. Volkovskoya *and* M. P. Malsheva (*eds.*). *Shkolevedenye* (Schoolkeeping). Moscow: State Pedagogical Publishing House, Ministry of Education, RSFSR, 1955. p. 118–19.

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IV. The Decision-Making Process in Soviet Education

To UNDERSTAND the decision-making process in any society one must understand the aspirations, the values, the underlying guiding philosophy of that society. To understand the process of making decisions in the Soviet Union requires all of this—plus an understanding of the Communist Party, the discipline it exerts on its membership, its history, its traditions, its relationship to all of the Soviet people and, for that matter, the world. Anything less will result in superficiality and misunderstanding.

It is not within the scope of this bulletin to supply the reader with the necessary background in the form of historical treatment and philosophical treatises, but this statement should stand as a prelude, as a forewarning, that to understand the rationale for decision-making in the Soviet Union, to understand the relationship of the Communist Party to governmental agencies, one must understand contemporary Soviet society as described and developed by Lenin and his followers.

An accurate and succinct statement of the relationship of the Party to the people of the Soviet Union was recently made by Frol Kozlov in a report to the 22d Party Congress. In this report he said:

> Our Party has grown from the small Marxist circles and groups that emerged in Russia at the end of the last century into a ten-million-strong army of advanced fighters for the revolutionary transformation of society, into a Party that guides a great socialist state, a Party of builders of communism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a great force of our times, and its policy exerts a tremendous influence on the whole course of world history.
>
> It was our Party that led the working people of Russia to victory over tsarism and capitalism, to the creation of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. It was under the Party's tried and tested leadership that the Soviet people achieved the final and complete victory of socialism. . . .
>
> In these past years the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has grown numerically and has become stronger both ideologically and organizationally. The Party, having eliminated the consequences of Stalin's person, has fully restored the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership. . . . The role of the Party as the guiding and directing force of the Soviet people has increased. The Party has become enriched in fresh experience in political leadership of the masses. . . .
>
> As a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR, and the strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party,

> the Party of the working class, has become the Party of the entire Soviet people.
>
> The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an inseparable, integral part of the International Communist and working-class movement. It firmly upholds the tried and tested principles of proletarian internationalism. Its long history and its manifold activities show that the Party fulfills its internationalist duty to the international Communist and working-class movements. The CPSU actively contributes to further consolidating the unity of the international Communist movement and fraternal relations with the great army of Communists of all countries; it coordinates its activities with the efforts of other contingents of the world Communist movement to promote the joint struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This is a most important condition ensuring the victory of socialism and communism, the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist theory on a world-wide scale.[1]

Since the Communist Party came to power in November 1917, the Party has been the focal point and the core of Soviet life, behavior, and political action. Government, together with its formal agencies, as we know it in the Western world has never really existed in the fabric of Soviet society. Pro forma agencies of government and a constitution do exist, but the seed bed of all political, social, and economic ideas and policies has been the Communist Party and not the Government.

In recent years the Communist world has seen some shift away from the concept of one-man management (a dictatorial modus operandi developed to a high degree by Stalin) to one of collective leadership. Most Western specialists of Soviet politics today agree that Khrushchev does not quite hold the power or the centralized authority prevalent in the Soviet Union of the Stalin era. But this "collective leadership" concept ought not to delude one into interpreting collective leadership as the democracy known in the United States or other parts of the Western world. For although there may be more people at the top of the Party apparatus making basic decisions, these decisions are as binding upon subordinates as were the decisions formulated under the old concept of one-man management.[2]

In broad, general, oversimplified terms we can trace the flow of authority in the Soviet Union from the Central Committee, CPSU, down through its own parallel organizations at the five geopolitical

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[1] F. P. Kozlov. *Ob Izmeneniyach v Ustave Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskoyo Soyuza. Doklad Na XXII Syezde Partii, 28 Oktiabrya 1961* (Amendments to the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Report to the 22d Party Congress, Oct. 28, 1961). Moscow, 1961. p. 9–12.

[2] "Collective leadership" is a theoretical concept, a principle used widely by Soviet leaders since the beginning of the de-Stalinization period. Some political analysts would maintain that the concept has been substantially modified since Khrushchev's rise to power. Today, within the confines of Party discipline, Khrushchev accords a degree of autonomy to subordinate officials and institutions, which was not the case with Stalin. But, say these analysts, since Khrushchev as First Secretary of the Party personally exhibits firm control, the term "collective leadership" appears to be more theoretical than real.

levels and through the formalized governmental agencies at the same geopolitical subdivisions. Figure 6, a flow chart, illustrates the flow of authority and power *within* Party and governmental organizations, and also *between* these bodies. A word of caution is in order at this point. This oversimplified flow chart might lead one to believe that the Communist Party is a parallel power structure; in truth it is an *overlapping* structure and this overlapping relationship may be compared in some ways to a chemical compound in which basic elements can be isolated and identified, but which together take on a characteristic unique unto itself.

Although this bulletin concerns itself with the flow of authority and power in the administration of public education in the Soviet Union, it must also be recognized that similar relationships between Party and Government exist in all spheres of Soviet life: economic planning, industry, agriculture, drama, commerce, housing, foreign trade, and the like.

Again, as in the first section of this bulletin, we shall examine the decision-making process within the Party structure, and then turn to the decision-making process within the governmental organizations. We shall see how policy is formulated, how it is implemented; we shall examine the latitude open to implementers of policies and analyze where, if at all, greater latitude exists.

Decision-Making in Party Organizations

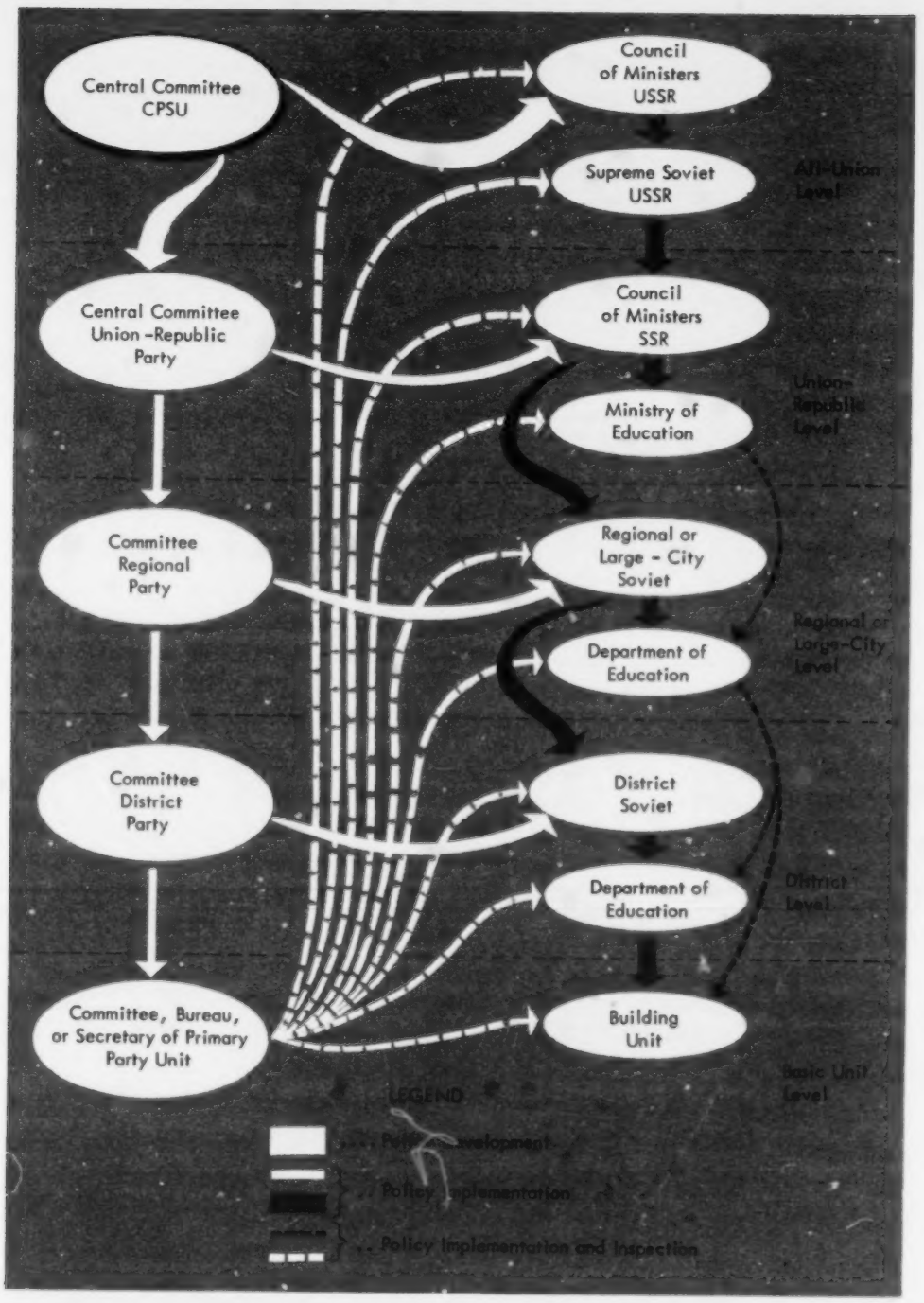
Under rules adopted recently at the 22d Party Congress, the Party has reemphasized (1) democratic centralism, (2) constant replenishment of leadership within the Party (while at the same time making legal provisions to continue the leadership of some prominent Party members), and (3) a reiteration of the principle of collective leadership.

The concept of "*democratic centralism*" has been officially defined as embodying the following characteristics:

- election of all leading Party bodies from the lowest to the highest
- periodical reports of Party bodies to their Party organizations and to higher bodies
- strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority
- decisions of higher bodies obligatory for lower bodies.[3]

[3] *Ustav Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskoyo Sayuza*, Prinyat XXII Syezdom KPSS. 31 Oktyabrya 1961 (Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Adopted at the 22d Congress, CPSU, Oct. 31, 1961). Moscow, 1961. p. 14.

Figure 6.—Flow Chart of Authority and Power



Democratic centralism is a Leninist principle of long standing and one which combines well-defined organizational structure and strict discipline with the opportunity, on the part of its membership, for criticism of others, as well as the responsibility for self-criticism. In theory, it sets up the organizational machinery for a flow of agreements and disagreements, ideas and counter-ideas, and affords all members of the Party at all geopolitical levels an opportunity to speak to any given issue and to demand answers to questions they pose. Coupled with this right is the ironclad responsibility to implement the decision, once made, whether or not it meets with the approval of some of the members.

Although the official rules governing the Communist Party give lip-service to the need for local initiative, recent modifications of the rules have actually strengthened the power and the authority of the Central Committee of the CPSU over all other subordinate counterparts in the organization. This apparent contradiction is evident in the official Party rules and public utterances of Party leaders. For example, Kozlov recently had this to say about inner-Party democracy:

> **An important feature of the draft Rules is the greater role allotted to local Party bodies and the extension of initiative and independence in solving the economic and political problems confronting a region, territory, or republic.**
>
> **At the same time, it must be pointed out that the CPSU is not a federation of parties or Party committees. It is a centralized organization. The Communist Parties of the union republics and the territorial and regional organizations are parts of a single whole, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The strict subordination of individual Party organizations to the center, and of lower organizations to the higher, is an indispensable condition for the Party's fulfillments of its historic tasks.**
>
> **The Party fights against all manifestations of parochialism, against all attempts to approach problems of Party policy from a narrow departmental standpoint, for it considers them to be alien to Marxist-Leninist Party principles. Lenin stressed that "refusal to accept the direction of the central bodies is tantamount to refusing to remain in the Party; it is tantamount to disrupting the Party. . . ."** [4]

Thus, on the one hand democratic centralism calls for local initiative, but on the other hand insists that there is no room for *much* local initiative, and certainly no room for "parochialism" within the total Party organization. Authority is centralized, and power is allocated sparingly at lower Party levels. Democratic centralism in the Soviet Union is not "democratic" in any Western sense. It places the greatest amount of authority (the right to do) in the hands of the executive at the top level of the structure and makes the executive branch the source of all power (the ability to do); the role of local units is that of implementa-

[4] F. P. Kozlov. op. cit., p. 26–27.

tion of policies emanating from superordinate bodies and the only power allocated to local units is the power to implement what higher bodies have agreed upon. Although the notion of authority and power residing within the executive body is commonly adhered to in all organizational structures throughout the world, the narrowing of the boundaries of local initiative set off dramatically the Soviet Union's concept of democracy from that of the United States and the rest of the Western world.

Provisions for *periodic renewal of Party leadership* is a new and highly significant principle of Party organization. At present it is anticipated at each regular election the composition of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of its Presidium will be renewed by at least one-quarter; the Central Committees of union-republics by at least one-third; and the regional, city, district, and primary unit committees by one-half.

Since the purge of such "anti-Party" members as Molotov, Kaganovitch, Voroshilov, Malenkov, and others, a fermentation has taken place in the leadership of the Communist Party. According to one source, the composition of the Central Committees of union-republics was replaced at the last Party elections by 45 percent, and that of regional, city, and district committees by 40 percent. Accordingly, the 22d Party Congress recently adopted new, detailed regulations which will *require* replenishment of leadership. One can interpret this change in many different ways. It may be a way to insure that the present all-union Party leadership can control lower echelon leadership more effectively through constant renewal; it may be a means for guaranteeing that lower level leaders are never in office long enough to develop their own "anti-Party" cliques which would threaten the all-union leadership; or it may be as a prominent Soviet leader recently said:

> The advisability of such a system of election to Party bodies is obvious. We need a steady flow of new, promising people with initiative coming into the leadership. At the same time the leading Party bodies must be rid with a firm hand of people who have been longer on the job than is good for it, who have come to believe that there is no one who can replace them, have stopped in their progress and, although unable to cope with the work entrusted to them, cling to their leading positions.[5]

But, whatever the reason, it seems clear that with the exception of a few key leaders, membership in the executive organs of Party organization will be less stable in the future than it has been in the past. What effect this will have on the decision-making process, on the formulation of decisions and its implementation, has yet to be seen. It is very likely that it will have no significant effect on the *process*

[5] Ibid., p. 23.

of policy formulation, but it may have some impact on the substantive *content* of the policies themselves. Although it is always dangerous to generalize and interpret from one social and political culture to another, this can be interpreted as a strengthening of centralization of authority and a move to guarantee that anti-Party elements such as those which arose following Stalin's death will be less likely to occur.

Numerous instances have been reported in the Soviet press and reviewed in Party congresses of leaders of lower level Party organizations who have taken upon themselves the mantles of infallibility and great power—postures which often have conflicted with the prevailing policies of the Party leadership at the all-union level. It will now be easier through statutory means to rid the Party of this type of leadership.

Another shift in the principle of Party leadership, as an aftermath of Stalin's death, is that of *collective leadership.*

> The supreme principle of Party leadership is collective leadership, which is an absolute requisite for the normal functioning of Party organizations, the proper education of cadres, and the promotion of the activity and initiative of Communists. The cult of the individual and the violations of inter-Party democracy resulting from it must not be tolerated in the Party; they are incompatible with the Leninist principles of Party life.[6]

Today, more than at any other time in recent Soviet history, there is an oligarchy that determines the destiny and the future of the peoples of the Soviet Union. There is greater deliberation as a basis for the formulation of policy than at almost any other time since the death of Lenin and Stalin's rise to power. Many guesses have been made but not one knows for sure about the dynamics of inner-Party politics, particularly within the presidium of the Central Committee. All available evidence seems to point to a broadening of the base of authority within the Party organization—a broadening of the base *ever so slightly* and limited primarily to the Central Committee and its presidium.

These three factors—a restatement of democratic centralism, the replenishment of leadership within the Party apparatus, a renewed commitment to the principle of collective leadership—have made some basic changes in the pattern of Party leadership since the ascendency of Malenkov, followed by that of Khrushchev. At the present time, no one man in the Central Committee has the necessary power to act unilaterally on basic decisions which will affect the future of the

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[6] *Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* op. cit., p. 17. For a remarkable rationale for exposing the cult of personality, see L. F. Ilyichev *and others, Osnovye Politicheskiich Znaniye* (Fundamentals of Political Knowledge). Moscow: State Publishing House of Political Literature, 1962. p. 492–93.

Party and of the country. Although Khrushchev today is clearly the most influential member of the Party, he is by no means its absolute ruler, by no means the sole determiner of policy. Does this then mean that the Party apparatus has been democratized? Is there really greater opportunity for "local initiative and independence"?

Not at all.

The opportunity for discussion of important problems facing the Party in the Soviet Union is great at all geopolitical levels. Preceding any formal declaration of any importance a large ferment takes place within the Party apparatus, within all Party organizations. There is feedback by delegates through the lines of authority illustrated in figure 1, but generating discussion and arriving at decisions are not necessarily two sides of the same coin. All basic decisions are made within the Central Committee of the CPSU. From this point on, and in accordance with the concept of democratic centralism, all subordinate organizations within the Party apparatus serve only to implement the basic decisions of the Central Committee, CPSU.[7]

Figure 6 is a simplified diagram which shows the flow of authority and power, the relationship of committees within the Party apparatus to one another, and the role that each committee plays in either implementing or inspecting the work of other subordinate Party organizations.

As can be seen in figure 6, policy is developed in the Central Committee, CPSU, and is filtered down through its parallel organs to the primary Party organizations. Basic policy is developed only at the all-union level and by the time it reaches the union-republic level it is then implemented rather than determined. Each Party organization has the additional responsibility of supervising policy implementation within the parallel or corresponding governmental organizations. The Central Committee, CPSU, passes on its decisions to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the executive body of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet. The Central Committee of the union-republic Party organization passes on the decisions of the all-union Party organization to the union-republic's Council of Ministers and helps it implement the Party's decisions.

The primary Party organization is found at every level in the governmental structure, and through the membership of the primary Party organization the administrators of the governmental agencies implement Party decisions. As a member of the Central Committee

[7] While this is technically true, the Central Committee in fact plays a role in the Party which in some respects is roughly equivalent to that of the Supreme Soviet in the Government. It is a relatively large body meeting only periodically to place its stamp of approval on the policies and actions of organization which are the real source of authority in the Party. The two most important such organizations are the Presidium, a policymaking organ, and the Secretariat, the Party's highest executive authority.

of the CPSU recently remarked, "Theoretically, ministers of governmental agencies do not need to be members of the Party, but in practice they all are."

Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science

Within the Party apparatus, two organizations are particularly important in the development and implementation of educational policy. The first is the Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science of the Central Committee of the CPSU. This department is responsible for developing draft proposals of educational decisions to be considered, for generating nationwide discussions of these draft proposals, and for developing final resolutions for the consideration of the Central Committe, CPSU, and its parent body, the congress of the CPSU.[8]

Once decisions have been drafted, discussed, and reformulated, they are formalized through the Party congress or conference at each geopolitical level. The union-republic departments of schools, higher education, and science must then develop plans for implementing the basic decisions adopted at the all-union level.

Primary Party Unit

A second important organization within the Party apparatus is the primary Party unit. This unit is the most important arm of the Central Committee, CPSU, for it is this unit which infiltrates all aspects of Soviet life and which takes on as its major responsibility the implementation of the decisions of the Central Committee, CPSU. Just how much power is allocated to the primary Party organization can be seen from this graphic statement contained within the rules that govern the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

> Primary Party organizations of industrial enterprises and trading establishments, state farms, collective farms and designing organizations, drafting

[8] At a recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CPSU, on November 19, 1962, First Secretary N. S. Khrushchev proposed that the Party develop greater control over agriculture and industry in the USSR. At the time this bulletin was being written, Khrushchev's plan had not yet been brought forth to the world in detail; nevertheless, it would appear that what he proposed was the addition of two departments within the Central Committee whose function would be similar to the already established Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science. They would serve for agriculture and industry the same function presently served by this Department for Education. Before this proposal, the Party's main relationship with agriculture and industry was through general overall economic planning and supervision by the primary Party organizations.

> offices and research institutes directly related to production, *enjoy the right to control the work of the administration.* [Italics added.]
>
> The Party organizations at Ministries, state committees, economic councils and other central and local government or economic agencies and departments which do not have the function of controlling the administration, must actively promote the improvement of the apparatus, cultivate among the personnel a high sense of responsibility for work entrusted to them, promote state discipline and the better servicing of the population, firmly combat bureaucracy and red tape, inform the appropriate Party bodies . . . on shortcomings in the work of the respective offices and individuals, regardless of what posts the latter may occupy.[9]

Besides being an inspector of individuals charged with the administration of governmental enterprises in the Soviet Union, the primary Party organization also acts as an organizer of the masses. The primary Party unit is established in all schools and all ministries of education, and helps school administrators to implement basic policy decisions by organizing and working with ministry personnel and school faculties whether they are members of the Party or not. In this way the primary unit becomes, in essence, an extension of the Central Committee, CPSU.

Decision-Making in Governmental Agencies

Once a policy is developed within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, this policy is transmitted to the Council of Ministers of the USSR—the executive body of the highest governmental organ at the all-union level, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet, a bicameral body, gives its pro forma approval to policies it receives from the Central Committee of the Party and passes on instructions to the various ministries concerned with the implementation of this policy. In the case of education, policy concerned with higher education and specialized secondary schools goes to the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education for implementation. This ministry, an all-union one, puts its staff to work developing plans for implementing the policy. Bulletins are written, hearings are held, and meetings are instituted throughout the country to elicit ideas from those concerned with higher and specialized secondary education; clear-cut policies are developed which guide institutions at lower levels in implementing the basic decisions originally formulated in the Central Committee of the CPSU.

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[9] *Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* op. cit., p. 28.

In the case of education at the elementary and general secondary school levels, the policy is transmitted to the 15 republic ministries of education for similar action. Since the Ministry of Education, RSFSR, is the largest of all republic ministries of education, the basic plans for implementing decisions are first worked out within the Russian ministry and then are adopted with few local modifications among the other 14 republic ministries of education. These decisions are filtered down through the other geopolitical levels and are implemented at the basic building-unit level. An elaborate system of governmental and Party inspection takes place at each geopolitical level to insure proper implementation.

If we paint the picture, in broad strokes, of decision making within governmental education agencies we find the following characteristics:

1. Widespread discussions of means of implementing basic policy decision at all geopolitical and at all administrative levels.
2. A strict commitment to a basic decision once it has been made. No dissension is permitted after a policy is adopted; complete concensus and commitment to a decision is a requisite.
3. The pattern of discussion before policy *development* is followed in its *implementation* so that at all levels discussion always precedes implementation. In no case, however, can discussion of procedures for implementation be inconsistent with the *intent* of the policy adopted at higher levels.
4. There is little latitude for modification of existing policies or little opportunity for modification of means for implementing basic policies, once the plan for implementation has been developed and the decision has been promulgated.

This, then, is the general pattern of decision making and implementation of policy within the governmental structure of public education in the USSR. To get a more detailed picture of how this process operates in specific instances, we shall examine the functioning of this process in several governmental agencies.

Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, USSR

The chief instrument for the development of policy and implementation plans for higher education in the USSR is the *collegium* of the union-republic Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. The minister and his *collegium* discuss and formulate plans for implementation of policies they have received from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU. Once a decree is issued from the *collegium* of the central ministry, it is considered final. These decrees override those issued by the union-republic ministries or committees on higher education and no

one has the power or the authority to change or to modify these decrees. Occasionally, permission is requested for experimentation with an established policy. The experimenter usually wishes to modify the plan adopted for the *implementation* of the basic policy decision. For example, a rector of a university may wish to change a portion of the basic program. Often, the rector is given permission to make the change but the character of these changes is a minor one.

In addition to the basic policy body, the *collegium*, a primary Party organization is established within the ministry. Party meetings are held periodically and, during these meetings, subordinates within the ministry who are members of the Party may freely criticize any of the actions or decisions of the minister, who is also a member of the Party. At these meetings, attempts are made to resolve any differences of opinion, but if a difference remains after extensive discussion, those involved in the dispute have recourse to the Council of Ministers of the USSR. In this case, the Council of Ministers acts as an arbitrator.

Not only does the central ministry develop plans for the implementation of basic policy decisions, but it also serves as a coordinating agency among the fifteen union-republics engaged in administering higher education.

The ministries and committees at the union-republic levels determine, within certain limits, their own budgets, their own professional manpower needs, the students needed to supply this manpower, and the faculties needed to train these students. As an example, the Uzbek Republic recently made known its plan to educate 20,000 new students during the academic year 1963–64. It has been estimated that 10,000 newly trained specialists will have to be added to the labor force during that year. There are 70,000 students presently enrolled in schools of higher education and certain specialized secondary schools. Uzbek ministry officials have subtracted from this number the 10,000 newly trained specialists who will be graduated in 1963, and have added to it the 20,000 new students they plan to enroll. They have estimated, upon this basis, that they will need to enroll 80,000 students for the academic year of 1963–64. The Uzbek ministry prepared its 1963–64 budget by figuring the cost per student and multiplying it by 80,000. This cost index includes faculty and staff salaries, student stipends, and the like.

The Uzbek ministry then presents its budget to the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek, SSR, for approval. After it receives this initial approval, the budget is submitted to the Council of Ministers, USSR, and to the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. The central ministry reviews the budget and the estimated

number of students to be trained to ensure that no union-republic institution of higher learning pays its staff or students any more or any less than any other union-republic does and that Federal manpower needs are being adequately met within each union-republic.[10]

Since the responsibilities of the central ministry are nationwide in scope, it has as complete an understanding of union-republic requirements as do the union-republic officials themselves. It is therefore in a good position to make judgments concerning the realism of budgets submitted to them by the union-republics.

Moscow State University

Although an institution of higher learning is not, in the strictest sense, a governmental education agency, the picture of the decision-making process would not be complete without an understanding of how decisions emenating from the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education is implemented within one of the institutions over which it has authority.

Moscow State University's administrative structure is typical of the administrative structure of institutions of higher learning throughout the Soviet Union. It is administered by a scientific council composed of the rector, his four vice-rectors, deans, and senior professors on the faculty. This council concerns itself primarily with programs, development and implementation of policy, and appointment of staff members. All faculty members have a voice in the appointment of assistant professors, *docents* (associate professors), and other scientific and research workers, through the use of a secret ballot; but the scientific council of the university appoints heads of departments and full professors subject to the approval of the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education.

Policies affecting higher education in the Soviet Union are sent from the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education to Moscow State University. Its scientific council, in turn, examines the policy, discusses it, and makes whatever decisions are necessary for its implementation. The decisions which come from the council are absolute and no subordinate university administrator or faculty member may modify or change them. Moscow State Uni-

[10] In an interview which the author had with Mr. V. P. Eliutin, Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, USSR, on Sept. 17, 1962, Mr. Eliutin reported that occasionally a union-republic—in order to make a "good" national impression—will skimp on facilities and enrollment. They erroneously assume that cutting back on expenditures is necessarily desirable and will be sure to please administrators in higher echelons.
Through an annual review of budgets the central ministry is in a position to seek out such inconsistencies and to challenge them before the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

versity, as can be seen in figure 7, is composed of 14 faculties. Each faculty is headed by a dean who in turn heads his own faculty council, consisting of assistant deans for scientific and educational aspects of the program and for finance and budget. The decisions of the scientific council are carried back to the faculty councils by the deans and implemented through department heads within each faculty.

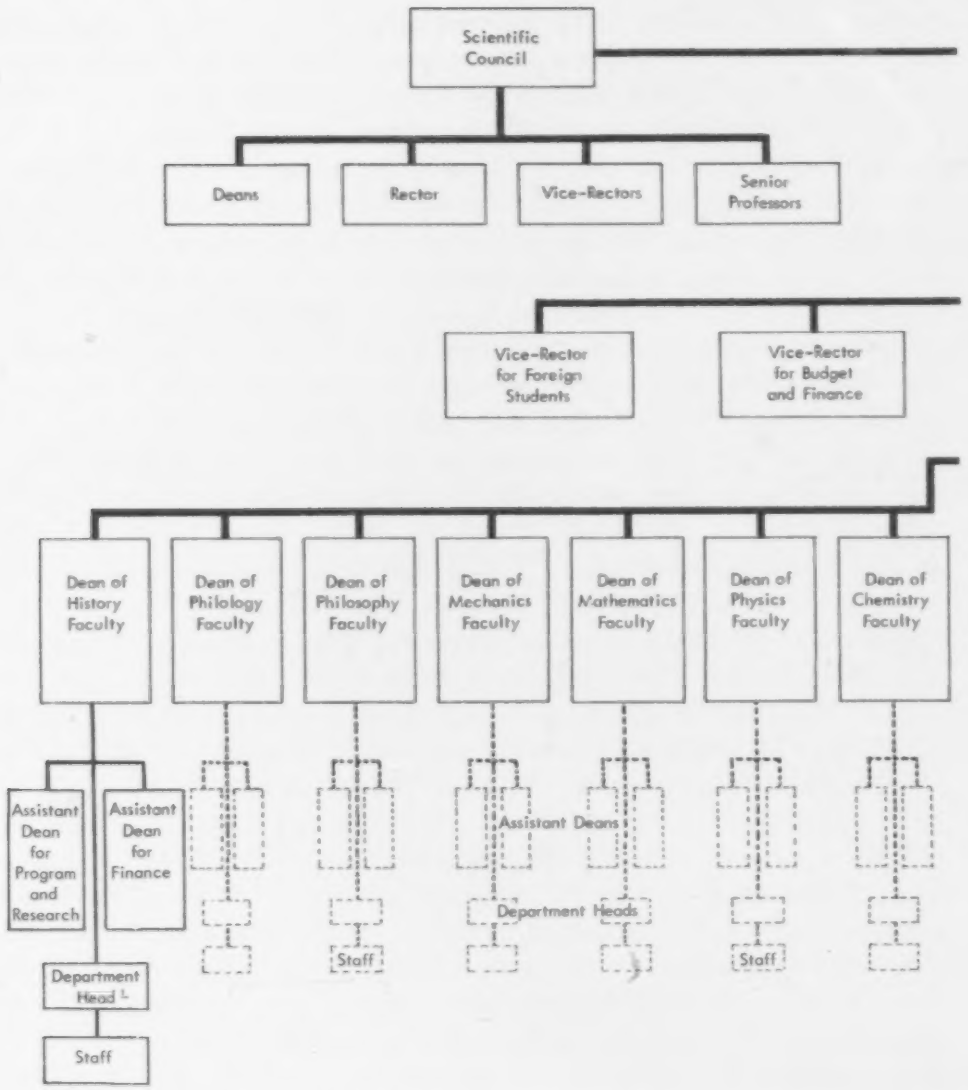
The Party plays a prominent role in the administration of Moscow State University, as it does in the administration of all institutions of higher learning. Soviet educational administrators deny the influence of the Party in the daily administration of institutions of higher learning and this has some basis in fact. But the question of Party influence is truly a moot point, since almost all of the chief administrators of institutions of higher learning are members of the Party, subject to Party discipline and required to fulfill and implement the decisions of the Party's Central Committee. The primary Party organization functions within the institution of higher learning in the same way that it does in factories, ministries, lower schools, farms, commercial establishments, and other facets of Soviet daily life. One educational administrator at Moscow State University recently reported that the Party had absolutely no right to determine program, staff, or any other aspect of the administration of the university. It had no right to meddle in council decisions, nor to discuss scientific questions. If it did so, the administrator said, it did so through its own members who were at the same time scientists; they spoke as scientists and not politicians. He described the Party as a follower and as a student of progress made in higher education. When it was pointed out to him that these were but two functions of the Party and that there was still a third function—leadership—he replied that there was no leadership of the university by the Party, but only by its members, who were themselves university administrators. Party organization and control, as discussed in the first section of this bulletin makes this distinction too fine to be a realistic one.[11]

Decision making in Moscow State University operates on the principle of collective leadership. Although the rector is the chief administrator of the university, he operates within an oligarchical structure. But, as in the case of decision making throughout Party and governmental structures, the decisions of the oligarchy are just as binding upon subordinates now as they were under the old principle of one-man management.

Professors at Moscow State University claim independence from university administrators concerning what they teach, how they teach,

[11] From an interview with Vice-Rector K. I. Ivanov, Moscow State University, Sept. 18, 1962.

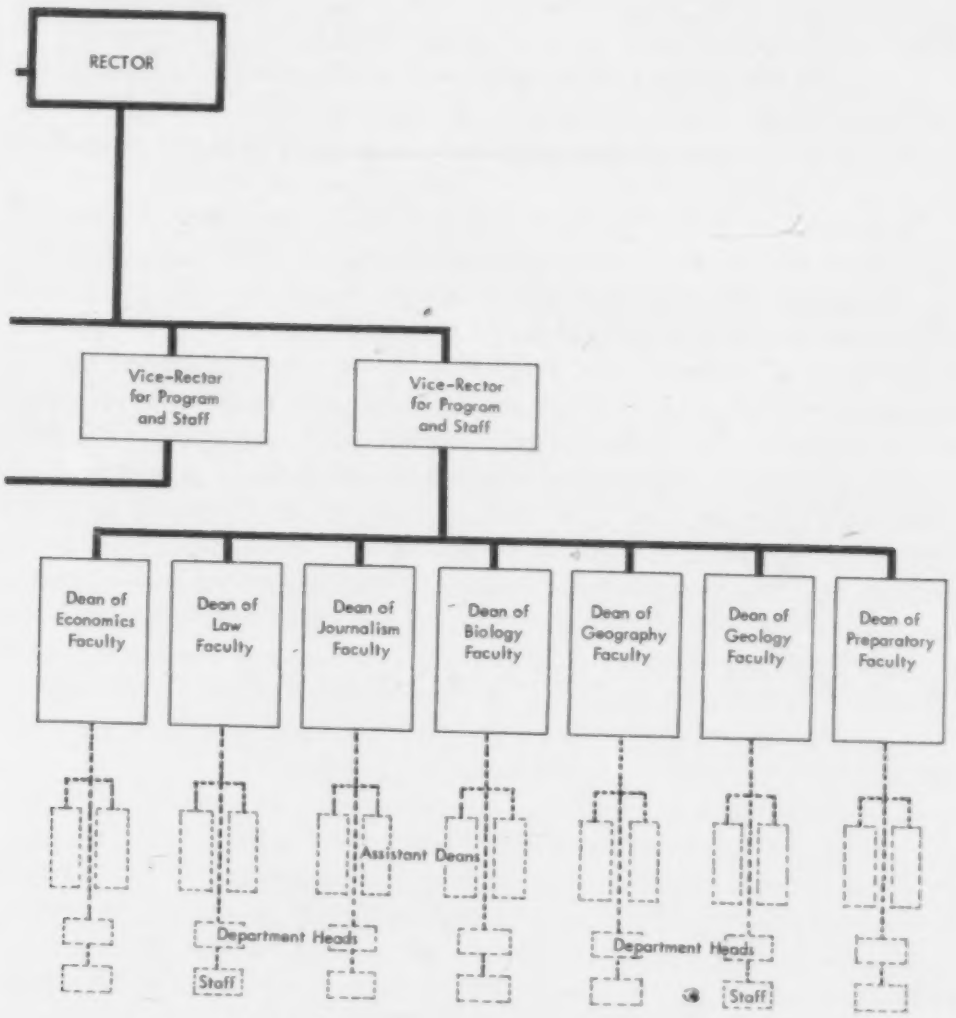
Figure 7.—Administrative Structure



[1] In 1962 the university reported that it had 200 departments.

and the number of hours they devote to any one given topic. This must be received with some skepticism, however, since the central ministry and the university scientific council determine the requisite number of lectures to be delivered within a given course, and determine the content of each course. The latitude that appears to be open to the professor is limited to the emphasis that he will place upon a given topic; but even this emphasis, when examined closely, is a relatively minor factor in the carefully developed and highly organized program structure.

of Moscow State University



Republic Ministry of Education

Although plans are afoot to establish a central ministry of education, at present such a ministry does not exist. Instead, each union-republic has its own ministry of education. The Ministry of Education, RSFSR, serves as the model for all 15 union-republics and, through its Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the academy's affiliated research institutes, develops detailed plans for the implementation of policy that is usually adopted by the other 14 ministries of education.

The republic minister of education develops his plans with the assistance of his staff (a plan modeled after the one developed in the RSFSR) and presents the plan to the Chamber of Union Nationalities

of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—a house where all of the union-republics have equal representation. This house, acting in the name of the central government, reviews union-republic plans for the implementation of educational policy and modifies the plans of those union-republics which may show signs of lagging behind others. This process of review brings about a greater uniformity in the implementation of national educational policy among all union-republics.

After a major policy decision has been made, such as in the case of the school law of 1958, ministries of education draft proposals for implementing this decision. The draft proposals are then circulated among the people, educational staffs of schools, governmental agencies at the district, regional, and large-city levels. It is discussed by the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR, and within the ministry of education itself. After formal hearings and opportunity for discussion, a policy is refined and drafted in the form of statutes.

Ministry officials feel that since discussion at all levels precedes educational policy and involves a large number of people, educational policies are always popularly supported and therefore easily implemented. These officials believe that the basic ideas underlying the implementation of policy are so important that no local variation can be permitted to come in conflict with the intent of educational policies adopted at higher levels. They feel that all basic policies are so important that deviations "could harm many people."

It is conceivable, ministry officials admit, that in spite of all of the discussion that precedes educational policy development, a policy may prove not to be desirable for a given union-republic. It is the right and the obligation of the union-republic to call this to the attention of the central government—but it is not possible for any single union-republic to change or to modify all-union law without the expressed approval of Federal authorities.

There have been instances, in the recent implementation of the 1958 school law—which seeks to bring a closer relationship between the school program and the economic and social conditions of Soviet life—when certain modifications in policy implementation are necessary. For example, the polytechnical program in the northern part of the Soviet Union may have to center around fishing instead of farming, for there is relatively little farming taking place in the North; or in the case of autonomous regions, foreign languages may be introduced in the seventh year instead of the fifth, because, in many instances, Russian may be a language foreign to the region. The flexibility allowed in the implementation of educational policy is of a minor nature and is one which really characterizes "tinkering" with the program rather than any substantive modification of it.

The primary Party organization functions within the ministry of education much as it does in other ministries and institutions described in the preceding paragraphs. As one ministry official put it, "The Party and the people are one; therefore, this relationship is not characterized by the Party giving orders and the people following blindly. The Party is a part of the people so it has no need to dictate to itself." [12]

The Ministry of Education, RSFSR, relies heavily upon its Academy of Pedagogical Sciences for the development of plans and bulletins (*sborniki*), which will direct others at subordinate administrative levels in the proper implementation of educational policy. The academy, through its research institutes, is responsible for experimentation in various substantive content fields. Many of the research institutes have experimental schools through which they have direct access to teachers and students for classroom experimentation. Teachers in these experimental schools are encouraged to report their findings, and contests are often held to seek out the most promising educational practices. The winning practices are adopted throughout the RSFSR and are in effect also adopted throughout the entire Soviet Union because of the unique relationship of the Ministry of Education, RSFSR, to all other republic ministries of education.

A corps of inspectors is attached to each republic ministry of education. It is their responsibility to insure that ministry directives are carried out at regional, large-city, and district levels. The ministry inspectors are the first echelon of inspectors in an administrative organization that extends down to the building unit level. These inspectors serve two functions: to enforce ministry policy and to assist administrators at the lower levels to find ways of carrying out the directives of the ministry of education.

As in other governmental agencies, the pattern of decision making is characterized by the development of draft proposals, widespread discussions, some modification of the draft proposals, the formal establishment of educational policy, and a rigid adherence to the policy by lower levels in the administrative structure.

Regional, Large-City, and District Departments of Education

The interrelationships that exist between governmental agencies concerned with education at the regional, city, and district levels are illustrated in figure 4, a chart representing but a small segment of the

[12] From an interview with Mr. A. I. Markushevich, Vice-Minister of Education, RSFSR. Sept. 17, 1962.

many varied interlocking relationships to be found in the Soviet governmental structure. For this chart to be a complete one, it would have to show the relationship of the region or city soviet to the union-republic soviet, and it, in turn, to the Supreme Soviet, USSR. The development of policy does not take place at either the city, regional, or district soviets; the soviets at these levels function as instruments for implementing policy decisions that emanate from higher up in the governmental structure. For example, the department of public education is shown in figure 4 as one department of many that make up the city or area soviet. Its directives come less from this level than they do from the ministry of education acting in behalf of the union-republic soviet.

Although these departments of education act chiefly as implementers of basic policy, some latitude exists for modification of ministry directives. In the city of Leningrad, for example, schools are organized according to two grade levels, 1–8 and 9–11. This organization represents a departure from the more traditional pattern for complete secondary schools organized on a basis of grades 1–11. As one city official explained this modification, "The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the Ministry of Education, RSFSR, were very interested in this pattern of organization and gave their approval . . . because this modification was a reasonable one and *one which was not likely to do any violence to the intent* of the 1958 school law." [13]

Since the basic function of the regional, city, and district departments of education is to implement the decisions formulated in republic ministries and in central governmental and Party organizations, an elaborate system of inspection has been devised to ensure that these decisions are carried out.

The regional or city department of education (*oblono* or *gorono*) represents the second echelon of inspection. Inspectors, attached to the offices of the vice-managers for preschool education and program and staff, have as their major responsibility the inspection of the third echelon of inspectors—those attached to the district department of education (*raiono*). In the city of Leningrad, for example, each city inspector is assigned to two districts and supervises the work of at least three district inspectors. Since district inspectors are responsible for 10 to 15 schools within their district, the city inspector is faced with a formidable task.

The future of education in any city anywhere in the world depends in some measure upon the facilities and resources available to the teacher. The Soviet Union is no exception. The financial support of

[13] From an interview with Mr. E. G. Dubkovsky, Vice-Manager of the Department of Education, Leningrad City Soviet, Sept. 20, 1962.

public education in the Soviet Union comes largely from national and union-republic sources. Each district department of education has a subsection (*sektory*) responsible for estimating budgetary needs for operational costs and capital outlay. These estimated needs are transmitted to the district soviet and its representative submits these estimates to the particular city or regional soviet responsible for the total budget of the city or region. Within the department of education at the city or regional level, a parallel section exists for finance and facilities. Its staff combines the estimated budgets of the component districts and submits its total budget to the city or regional soviet. This budget is channeled upward to the union-republic soviet which, in turn, develops a complete union-republic budget.

In summary, the two basic functions of the departments of education at regional, large-city, and district levels are (1) inspection and implementation of educational policies emanating from union-republic and central sources, and (2) development of budgets for approval at higher administrative levels. Few, if any, *basic* policies affecting public education are developed at these levels. There is some latitude for modification of implementation procedures, but this latitude narrows considerably from the union-republic to the region and city levels and is almost nonexistent at the district levels and within the school buildings located within each district.

School Building Unit

Each school building unit is administered by a director and his staff of assistants. By the time educational policies reach the school building level, all activities center around the detailed implementation of these policies.

As we have seen from preceding sections, the ministry of education issues bulletins three times a month. These bulletins are sent to regional, large-city and district departments of education which in turn distribute them to the directors of school buildings within their jurisdiction. The building directors in turn distribute these bulletins to their teachers so that they can develop daily teaching plans from them.

Ministry of Education bulletins generally describe the subject to be taught and the number of hours to be devoted to the total subject area; i.e., physics, mathematics, Russian history, and the like. These bulletins describe the *topics* to be covered within each subject and they may even suggest the number of hours to be devoted to each topic. Although teachers have no latitude in deciding whether or not a subject

or a topic will be taught, they are given limited flexibility to decide the placement of topics and the final number of hours to be devoted to each topic within each major subject area.

After teachers have reviewed the bulletins issued by the ministry of education, they develop plans for an academic quarter and submit them to the director and his staff for approval. The final, detailed quarterly plans are developed from these suggestions by the director and his staff. The teachers are then issued the final quarterly plans and from these, daily plans are developed by each teacher and resubmitted to the director for his final approval.

Although each classroom teacher has some latitude for deciding *how* the ministry of education directives are to be implemented, the amount of flexibility in implementing ministry plans is relatively narrow. For example, if a teacher wishes to implement her plans by taking children out to a factory to teach them a topic, rather than teaching it in the classroom, she may do so. At this level, teacher X may take 5 hours of field trips as compared to teacher Y's 1 hour. Teacher Y is also teaching the *same* topic, but in a different way. Neither teacher X nor Y however, has the power to eliminate the topic from the course of study.

To insure that teachers are implementing ministry plans in their daily teaching, an intricate system of inspection is carried out. The building director not only checks the teachers' daily plans, but implements this with daily classroom visitations. Meanwhile, city or regional inspectors inspect the work of district inspectors who in turn supervise the work of each building director and his faculty.

The system of inspection is carried out in several ways. Sometimes, the city inspector assigns a specific task to the district inspector and then watches him closely to see how effectively he carries out his assignment. For example, one of the responsibilities of the district inspector and the school building director is to enforce compulsory education. The city inspector may run a close check on the number of children of school age enrolled in any one school district to see how carefully the district inspector and the building director have enforced compulsory education within their attendance area.

Often a city inspector will attend seminars that district inspectors organize for teachers. Through this kind of observation, the city inspector makes judgments about the effectiveness of the inspector as an instructor.

Still another way the city inspector uses to check on the performance of district inspectors is by interviewing the building director to judge how competently the district inspector has been working with him and with his staff. According to one city inspector, "The director of the

school is only too happy to report on the conduct of the district inspector."

Occasionally, the city inspector will work directly with classroom teachers and their students so that he may judge the effectiveness of the district inspector. Often the city inspector will make these judgments by reviewing the children's examination papers. If the students do not perform well on the tests, the inspector can conclude that it is the fault of the teacher and, in addition, of the building director and district inspector for not insisting that the teacher do a better job of teaching.

It has been reported that some city inspectors will visit a classroom and even question the children. If the latter's academic achievement does not appear to be up to standard, these city inspectors then conclude that the fault lies with the building director and the district inspector.

Sometimes an inspector will submit a list of questions to a teacher and then will listen to the students' responses as the teacher raises these questions. Another variation of this technique is for the inspector to pick a topic and then ask the teacher to write a series of questions which the children are to answer.

The chief function, then, of administration at the school-building level is detailed implementation of basic policy decisions through carefully drawn plans, and close supervision of teachers to insure that these plans are carried through. The faculty and administration of each school building unit is inspected carefully and systematically by district, large-city, or regional officials and from this complex of inspection and supervision emerge the activities which breathe life into the policies developed within the all-union Party circles.

V. The Need for Further Study

THIS STUDY set out to answer a number of questions pertaining to (1) the relationship of Party structure to government and (2) policy development and its implementation. In part, some of the answers have become apparent; but many questions still remain unanswered.

The picture of Party structure and governmental organization is a clear one; the process of decision-making within the Party apparatus and within governmental agencies is becoming increasingly clear. Little or nothing is known, however, about the dynamics of inner-Party politics, the structure of some governmental agencies, or the effect of local mores and traditions upon a centrally administered educational program.

This section V of the present bulletin presents some specific questions and problem areas that need further research. These appear under three categories: Administrative Structure, Dynamics of Policy Implementation and Inspection, and Potential Geopolitical Differences Within and Among the Union-Republics.

Administrative Structure

1. *What is the organizational structure of the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education?*

. One of the hazards of writing about the Soviet Union is the sudden shifts, the unpredictable twistings and turnings of Party policy. What is stated dogmatically today can be heresy tomorrow. A fascinating evening could result from comparing two editions of a standard Soviet volume. In one, Stalin is lauded as the savior of the Soviet Union; in another, he is identified as the root of all economic, political, and social evils. In one edition centralization of authority is damned and in another it is praised. For example, in a recent edition of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, we find this statement explaining the USSR's poor showing in agriculture and industry:

> Serious mistakes have also been made in the management of the national economy, in particular of agriculture, where a grave situation had arisen

> as a result of the departure from the principles of socialism . . . agricultural produce was left lagging far behind. . . . The Leninist principles of administration were not fully complied with in industrial management. As a result of excessive centralization of economic management and planning the actual possibilities for increasing production . . . were not fully taken into consideration, while the creative initiative of the masses was not given sufficient scope.
>
> The Central Committee and the Government revised the system of agricultural planning. The collective farms were permitted to plan themselves the size of the crop areas. . . . The new system of planning helped to eliminate bureaucratic abuses. . . .[1]

On November 19, 1962—just 2 years after this volume was published—Nikita S. Khrushchev proposed a reorganization of the Party which would result in greater centralization of authority in industry and agriculture. Khrushchev presented as convincing a rationale for the centralization of authority as the history volume 2 years earlier had done for the elimination of a central planning authority.

From Khrushchev's statements before the Central Committee and from information filtering back from the Soviet Union, there is every reason to believe that the most recent trend is toward a greater centralization of authority in the USSR. Within a short time, the Soviet constitution apparently will be revised to create a central Ministry of Education; the union-republic Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, in keeping with the trend toward greater centralization of authority, would then take on an even greater significance in the administration of higher education in the USSR. The precise configuration of the administrative structure of this central ministry is not known. Since this ministry is, and will continue to be, a key ministry in the Soviet Union, further studies should be instituted to trace in detail the relationship of the central ministry to the development of higher education and specialized secondary training of manpower in the Soviet Union.

2. *How is the union-republic ministry or committee that administers higher education and specialized secondary schools in the union-republic organized?*

As in the case of the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, little is known about the organizational structure of its counterpart in the union-republic. We do know that each of the 15 union-republics has either a ministry or a committee to administer higher education. Data supplied to this author in the fall of 1962 showed very noticeable inconsistencies between the statements of the Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education in the Ukranian republic and those of the central minister. The present

[1] Arthur Rothstein (*ed.*). *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960. p. 654.

author had a separate series of interviews with each of these ministers and was unable to resolve their conflicting statements about the interrelationship between their respective ministries. Information about the organization of union-republic ministries is sketchy and incomplete. Further studies are needed to clarify the relationships between the union-republic and central ministries.

3. *What will be the organizational pattern of the proposed central Ministry of Education? What will be its relationship to the ministries of education in the 15 union-republics?*

The Constitution of the USSR is undergoing widespread discussion before its modification in the near future. Some American scholars of the Soviet scene suspect that the Constitution will be modified to allow for greater centralization of authority and power. Certainly, the meeting of the Central Committee, CPSU, in November 1962, would lend some credence to this hypothesis, for during that meeting, plans were made to centralize the authority of the Party and Government over industry and agriculture.

Discussions with Soviet administrators in the fall of 1962 seemed to indicate that the decentralization of education in the elementary and secondary schools had led to uneven implementation of the 1958 basic revision of the school law. Clearly, key educational administrators in the USSR feel that authority should be focused in a central organization.

4. *How is education in the USSR financed? What criteria are employed to determine allocation of funds for education?*

Certain aspects of budget construction and financing in the Soviet economy are known to us. But the problem of how education is supported remains unclear. As Scott points out:

> The budget law provides no varied detailed information on the financing of the Soviet system. The several divisions on the expenditure side specify the allocation to the several ministries for economic purposes and to the principal social and cultural purposes, such as education. . . . The paragraphs of the law further provide for the subdivisions of these sums between the several chief administrations of the ministries, institutions, and services. The difficulty for the observer outside the system is to know exactly what services are affected by provisions to any particular ministry or agency. The local and ministerial budgets, which are more specific on these matters, are not normally published.[2]

A detailed description of the machinery set up to collect, allocate, and administer funds specifically earmarked for education at all levels is needed to understand more fully the administration of education in the USSR.

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[2] Derek J. R. Scott. *Russian Political Institutions.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. p. 238.

5. *What is the organizational pattern of the Party school? What types of departments does it include? What qualifications are needed for faculty membership? Do the graduates of Party schools play a special role in institutions of higher education and elementary and secondary schools?*

A system of Party schools was introduced in the Soviet Union by a decision of the Central Committee, CPSU, August 2, 1946. This decision was a response to the inadequacy of training programs for Party workers.[3]

DeWitt reports that in the 10 postwar years (1946–56) *district* and *regional* Party schools trained 55,000 students, but that almost nothing is known of the enrollment of the curriculum of the *higher* Party schools. According to the 1946 decision which directed the establishment of Party schools, an Academy of Social Science was to be established to train theoreticians for Party organizations, universities, other institutions of higher learning, and specialized journals; but beyond this fact much has yet to be learned.

Since the Party plays a significant role in developing educational policy, an intensive study of the Party schools would be helpful in understanding Party leaders, their motivations, and the values they hold.

Dynamics of Policy Implementation and Inspection

1. *How can we characterize the specific dynamics of Party inspection? Who are Party inspectors? How are they trained? Where are they trained? How are they related to primary Party organizations and to Party departments of schools, science and higher education at district, large-city, regional, and union-republic levels?*

It has been clearly established that the Party maintains a staff of inspectors at all geopolitical levels to enforce Party decisions and supervise the implementation of these decisions by governmental administrators. Since the Party's relationship to formal governmental agencies is unique in the world and since all basic policy, including educational policy, originates within the Central Committee, CPSU, it is logical under the Soviet system that these decisions be supervised by the Party apparatus.

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[3] Nicholas DeWitt. *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR.* p. 222–23, 300–01, appendix table IV–B–21A and IV–B–21B. The author describes in some detail the curriculums of interregional Party schools and in general terms the structure of interregional Party schools, higher Party schools, and their extension and correspondence division.

Probably the most important focus that can be given to any study of educational administration in the Soviet Union is that of Party influence on educational decisions, and the methods used to implement basic educational policy. This is an area about which we know little. To understand the Soviet system of education thoroughly, a detailed analysis of the Party inspection apparatus is imperative.

Soviet authorities have been reluctant to discuss the role that the Party plays in policy implementation. Perhaps this reluctance stems in part, from the misinterpretations of Party influence on governmental machinery. No outside observer can easily understand the relationship of Party apparatus to governmental structure. Some outsiders' interpretations of this close relationship have made Soviet officials "gun-shy" and reluctant to discuss it. From even a casual reading of Soviet political, economic, and educational literature it is obvious that the Party and government are, in truth, one. Perhaps the chief task of future investigators will be to break down the reluctance of Soviet officials to discuss Party and governmental relationships candidly. Unless this is done, attempts to look at the administration of Soviet education solely through governmental acts and decrees will tell only half the story and will leave one with an erroneous impression that departments of education, ministries of education or even the Supreme Soviet really play a decisive role in the development of basic educational policies.

2. *How can we characterize the specific dynamics of inspection emanating from republic ministries of education? What qualifications are needed to be a ministry inspector of schools? What are their specific responsibilities? What is their relationship to regional, large city, and district managers of education? Do they supervise city inspectors in the same manner that city inspectors supervise district inspectors?*

Previous studies of Soviet education have revealed the existence of governmental inspectors at all geopolitical levels. This bulletin has described in some detail the relationships between regional, large-city, and district inspectors, but it has not attempted to spell out in detail similar relationships between inspectors at these levels and the republic ministry. Certainly, when the central Ministry of Education is finally an established fact, new relationships will develop between the central Ministry of Education and ministries of education in each of the union-republics. The dynamics and the inner workings of this inspection process are still not clear, and they need to be studied so that we can better understand how Party and governmental decisions are implemented.

3. *We know that primary Party organizations in schools or governmental agencies hold meetings at least once a month. What topics are generally discussed? What specific impact does this discussion have on the administration of the school or governmental agency?*

Although many references have appeared in Soviet and Western literature to the effect that primary Party organizations are in existence, that meetings are held, and that their duties range over a variety of topics, no one has yet reported in detail the typical primary Party meeting. A possible area for intensive investigation would be the agenda of such a meeting. Through a study of this agenda, scholars of the Soviet scene could get a clearer picture of inner-Party dynamics and the role that the primary unit plays in supervising the administration of educational institutions.

4. *How does the Party's department of schools, higher education, and science operate at levels lower than the all-union level? What is the specific organizational pattern of these departments at each geopolitical level? Of what sections are they composed? What type of training do the administrators of these Party departments and subsections receive?*

Historically, the Party apparatus has been supervised and operated by paid, full-time cadres or staffs. The role of the individual Party member has been a limited one insofar as he has been called upon to keep the wheels of everyday routine turning smoothly. As Scott points out:

> For the ordinary member, who is not prepared or able to make a career as a full-time Party official, influence within the Party is probably very narrowly limited. The large issues of policy never come up for discussion, and as regards decisions of detail the principal local Party officials bear too much personal responsibility for it to be at all probable that they will stand much interference from the rank-and-file members.[4]

On October 28, 1961, Frol P. Kozlov, in an address to the 22d Party Congress, urged that the Party use fewer full-time paid staff members and more unpaid Party functionaries. This was an amplification of earlier remarks by Khrushchev. According to Kozlov, the Party presently has 230,000 nonstaff functionaries, lecturers, and members of various standing commissions of the district, city, regional, and union-republic committees. More than 600,000 Communists are working on commissions of primary Party organizations, and thousands of political education centers, Party study rooms, and libraries are staffed on a voluntary basis by Party members. All Party members are encouraged to engage in some aspect of "social work." But in spite of this recent trend towards voluntary participation in the operation

[4] Derek J. R. Scott. op. cit., p. 172.

of the Party apparatus, key departments such as the Department of Schools, Higher Education, and Science are staffed by full-time paid cadres.

Little is known of the various departments that make up the Party apparatus. We do know that many of them are subdivided into sectors dealing with different aspects of their work; but how these sectors are related to each other, who staffs them, and what kind of training is received in Party schools for this assignment is not known. Certainly, any comprehensive study dealing with the administration of education in the Soviet Union must delve into this aspect of educational administration.

5. *What role does the Party play in the election of representatives to the large-city, regional, and district soviets? Is Party approval of the slate of candidates necessary? What role does the Party play in the selection of deputies to serve as manager of departments of education in large-city, regional, and district soviets?*

The soviets of large cities, regions, and districts are elected organizations. In each case, the districts which comprise the larger governmental unit nominate candidates for election to the soviet. This election process is unlike that of elections in the Western world, for candidates rarely run against each other. Citizens are given the opportunity of voting for the single-candidate slate or not voting at all. How prominent a role Party officials play in the election to governmental agencies such as these soviets is not clear, but in the light of the close relationship of Party to Government in all other spheres, this relationship is undoubtedly a close one.

Once a deputy is elected to the Soviet, he and his fellow deputies appoint several from their number to administer the departments and professional staff members who operate the governmental apparatus. The managers of these departments must be elected deputies of the soviet. In an interview with Mr. N. M. Shustov, the manager of the department of education of the Moscow city soviet, the author of the present bulletin raised a question concerning the relationship between Party and governmental agencies at this level. Shustov replied that a very close relationship existed. He said, in part:

> To begin with, the Party has a special section on school affairs in its all-union Central Committee. It deals with education in the broadest sense. The Central Committee also has its parallel in the city soviet. The Party subsection on school affairs works closely with the educational department of the Moscow city soviet. They work closely with us to ensure that the level of ideological work is satisfactory among the staff members of the schools and that our teachers are either Party members or are good Communists who can inculcate good doctrines among the students. The Party's

educational section also helps us to select the appropriate factories in which to practice some aspects of polytechnical education.[5]

Further study of this question certainly needs to center around the Party's role in the selection of the city manager and the process that the Party employs to check on the ideological work of the teacher.

Potential Geopolitical Differences Within and Among the Union-Republics

1. *During the recent history of the USSR some of its union-republics showed resistance to some edicts of the central government. Although these differences apparently have been eliminated, is there a tendency to exert local autonomy the further one goes from the seat of central government in Moscow? What influences do local values play on a centrally administered educational program?*

The development of 11-year schools has figured prominently in USSR urban and rural planning. Each housing complex includes shops and movie theaters and is built around an 11-year school which acts as a hub for the entire complex. The school has been centrally located in the apartment compound to make it easier to serve a given attendance area. Usually, in new sections throughout the Soviet Union, the school is within easy walking distance of the student's home.

The city of Leningrad, however, has departed from the traditional pattern of school organization and has developed a system of education more closely resembling the system adopted in the United States. The use of an 8–3 system of education in Leningrad represents a radical departure from that envisioned by the planning commissions in Moscow and will of course affect the design of apartment building areas. This may mean problems of bus transportation in an urban community where few problems existed previously. Yet, when asked why Leningrad had instituted this departure, the vice-manager of the education department of the Leningrad city soviet said Leningrad educators felt that the aspirations and modes of behavior of children in the upper grades of school were different from those of children in the lower grades. The educators therefore believed that schools should be organized along age lines. Although the Ministry of Education, RSFSR, gave its approval in this case, Mr. E. G. Dubkovsky, the vice-manager, insisted that the reorganization would have taken place whether or not the ministry had approved it. He justified this attitude

[5] From an interview with Mr. N. M. Shustov, Sept. 19, 1962. In this same interview he insisted that Party membership was not a requisite for the manager of the department of education of the city or district soviet, even though he, Shustov, was a Party member.

on the basis that school reorganization into age groupings could do no great violence to the intent of the 1958 school code.[6]

If an important modification of school organization exists within the RSFSR, is it not logical to assume that similar types of modifications could be undertaken by other union-republics as well? Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, and Ukraine have at one time or another been centers of ferment. Do these strong nationalistic feelings still remain in strong enough force to exert significant modifications on the centrally administered program of education?

2. *What is the basis for inconsistencies in statements by officials of the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education and union-republic officials in parallel ministries?*

In separate interviews which the present author had with two high officials connected with the administration of higher education in the Soviet Union, certain inconsistencies cropped up in the statements of these officials. For example, an official in the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education explained that in the development of budgets for all of higher education in the USSR, each union-republic submitted its budget to the Council of Ministers of the Supreme Soviet and to the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. Later, when the present author repeated that statement to a union-republic ministry official, the latter denied it. He said that budgets were developed within each union-republic and then submitted to the Council of Ministers of the *union-republic* for approval. The record sent to the Council of Ministers of the Supreme Soviet was more to inform them than to seek their approval. Also, the statement sent to the central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education was so general in nature that it too served no other purpose but to inform. At a later meeting with the present author, the central ministry official said that his union-republic colleague was incorrect.

The union-republic ministry representative implied that his office was totally divorced from the central ministry and that he preferred to think of his ministry as the focal point for higher education in his union-republic. He emphatically stated that he is almost totally independent of the central ministry office and, in fact, minimized in many ways the responsibility of the central ministry for the development of programs and control of higher education within his union-republic.

[6] From an interview with Mr. Evgenyi G. Dubkovsky, Vice-Manager of the Department of Education, Leningrad City Soviet, Sept. 20, 1962. When Mr. Dubkovsky was asked whether the directors of school buildings had as much flexibility as the manager of the educational department of the city soviet had, in relation to the modification of existing policy, he shook his head emphatically and said "No". He explained that school directors and teachers are encouraged to exercise initiative and flexibility, but that this initiative must be "reasonable".

He agreed that there were certain general programs developed at the all-union level, but pointed out that each republic had the right to change its curriculum in terms of the peculiarities of that specific union-republic. According to the union-republic ministry official, his office develops budgets and recommendations for program development and seeks approval for these only from his union-republic council of ministers. But the central ministry representative did not agree. He stated that both the union-republic ministry and the Central Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education must approve programs, appointments, and the like.

According to the central official, each of the 15 union-republics has its own ministry of higher and specialized secondary education or a committee which coordinates higher education in that union-republic. The central ministry is a coordinating agency for all of the ministries and committees and clearly has the ultimate authority for basic program development, appointment of senior professors, and final approval of union-republic budgets for higher and specialized secondary schools. Certainly, without this authority the coordination of higher and specialized secondary education could not be an accomplished fact.

In an ensuing interview with the union-republic ministry official, an attempt was made to develop an organizational chart which would show the relationship between the union-republic and the central ministries of higher and specialized secondary education. This author drew a chart depicting the central ministry in a position subordinate to that of the union-republic ministry. The union-republic official drew a line through the central ministry and said emphatically, "We are *not* under these people. We are a separate entity to ourselves."

Of course, one can easily risk the danger of overgeneralizing from an isolated instance, but future investigations of the administration of higher education in the Soviet Union might clear up the relationship between the central and union-republic ministries and committees who administer higher and specialized secondary education. A careful study should be made to see whether the inconsistencies found by the present author represented a schism between the geopolitical units or whether they were chance variations, due more to the frailties of human personality than to any serious challenge of Federal control.

VI. Conclusion

THIS STUDY has defined authority as the *right* to decide or act, and power as the *ability* to decide or act. Clearly, power resides in the overlapping Party structure rather than in State organs responsible for governing education. This relationship is unique. Nowhere else in the non-Communist world do we find the power invested in a political party to be so strong, so pervasive, that all governmental agencies act as the legitimizers of party policies and actions.

Both Party organization and function, as currently interpreted, are based upon the principle of democratic centralism. This concept, as we have seen, demands subordination of the minority to the majority and of lower Party organizations to higher Party organs. All important fundamental policies that affect education in the Soviet Union are developed within the Central Committee, CPSU, and implemented by lower Party and State units. The Party is so organized that its smallest unit, the primary Party organization, exists at all levels of Government and education. Acting through its primary units, the Party can maintain close supervision and control over all governmental activities.

This relationship must be taken into account in any study of education in the USSR. The influence and the control of the Party, acting through its members who are also Government administrators, is the key to a real understanding of the role and the function of education in the Soviet Union and of the men who administer the educational programs.

APPENDIX A

Selected Readings

THE FOLLOWING ANNOTATED AND PARTIAL LIST of materials published in the United States and the Soviet Union should give the reader an opportunity to gain a basic understanding of Soviet education, some of the problems connected with the administration of schools in the USSR, and some familiarity with the historical, philosophical, economic, and social aspects of Soviet society.

BEREDAY, GEORGE Z. F. *and* JANN PENNAR (*eds.*). *The Politics of Soviet Education.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960. 217 p.

A collection of essays that reflect the work of 11 Soviet scholars in a 3-week seminar held at the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich, Germany. Of particular interest to those concerned with the problem of Soviet school administration are the chapters on Party control, class tensions, recent modifications in training programs for secondary school teachers, and sociological perspectives.

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962. 120 p.

A collection of the 146 articles that make up the formal Constitution of the Soviet Union. A slim volume that contains, among other things, statutes which govern the social and State structure of the USSR, higher organs of State power in the USSR and in the union-republics, a legal description of local organs of State power, the electoral system and the procedure to be followed for amending the Constitution.

COUNTS, GEORGE S. *The Challenge of Soviet Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1957. 330 p.

An award-winning study of Soviet education that still stands as one of the finest interpretive analyses of the power and function of education in the USSR. This is a book that should be read in its entirety, for its greatest contribution lies in developing a comprehensive picture of the role education has played and continues to play, in the building of the Soviet State.

———. *Khrushchev and the Central Committee Speak on Education.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. 66 p.

An excellent opportunity for scholars who do not speak or read Russian to examine a primary source that has played, and will most likely continue to play, a major role in the administration of Soviet education. Dr. Counts presents an English translation of the 48 theses, adopted in 1958, that radically reorganized Soviet education. Dr. Counts' analysis of these theses is particularly valuable.

DEINEKO, M. M. *Spravochnik Direktora Shkola (Handbook for School Directors).* Moscow: State Pedagogical Publishing House, 1954. 514 p.

A Russian-language volume that has served school directors in the Soviet Union as a main source for administrative actions. It has served as a basic collection of statutes governing such topics as the leadership responsibilities of school directors, instructional methodology, pioneer and young communist league organizations in the school, homework and extracurricular activities, inservice education of teachers, sanitation procedures, wages and pensions of teachers, and budget problems. Because many basic changes in Soviet education have been made since 1954, ministry bulletins have temporarily taken the place that this handbook once served. A new edition is soon to be printed.

DEWITT, NICHOLAS. *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR* (NSF 61–40). National Science Foundation. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961. 856 p.

Undoubtedly the most comprehensive American study ever made of Soviet education and professional manpower needs. This study is more than just a revision of DeWitt's earlier study published in 1957, *Soviet Professional Manpower*. It is a completely new look at Soviet education, both before and after the 1958 school reforms. Of particular value to those interested in Soviet school administration are sections dealing with the prereform and postreform structures of education, the Soviet system of educational administration and control, and the influence of the Party on education.

———. *Soviet Professional Manpower*. National Science Foundation. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 400 p.

This book is the result of a project developed by the Office of Scientific Personnel of the National Academy of Sciences. It was one of the first attempts to upgrade published statistics about Soviet professional manpower and the Soviet educational system. Although the study was chiefly concerned with the Soviet professional manpower supply, it served a dual purpose by describing contemporary State and Party schools in the USSR.

Education in the USSR (Bulletin 1957, No. 14; OE–14045). U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960. 226 p.

This publication was the forerunner of a series of studies conducted by the U.S. Office of Education on educational systems in the USSR. It serves as an excellent benchmark by which to judge the changes that have taken place in Soviet education.

ILYICHEV, L. F., *and others*. *Osnovye Politicheskiich Znaniye* (*Fundamentals of Political Knowledge*). Moscow: State Publishing House of Political Literature, 1962. 600 p. approx.

One of the most interesting books to emerge from the Soviet Union in several years. This textbook for students of the 11-year school (the result of a contest sponsored by the Central Committee, which was deeply concerned with the poor "ideological level" among students) serves as a primer for secondary school youth on Marxism-Leninism as currently interpreted by Party theoreticians. It covers such topics as collective leadership and democratic centralism, and presents a curious rationale for the disclosure of the "cult of personality" at the 20th Party congress.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM H. E. *Russia's Educational Heritage*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Press, 1950. 351 p.

Planned to give an integrated view of the educational background of the USSR and to shed some light on Soviet pedagogical procedures, this book analyzes Russian educational history from early times through 1917. Data were drawn from official records and nonofficial writings in Russian and other languages.

———. "Teacher Education in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Teacher Education*, 7: 304–11, December 1956.

Describing postwar changes in the Soviet educational system and the impact caused by the establishment of Academies of Pedagogical Sciences, the author shows how the reforms affected teacher training. Both the shift in objectives to emphasize science and the subject of teacher supply and demand are treated statistically. A brief section deals with analogous problems of satellite countries of Eastern Europe.

KONDAKOVA, M. I. *and* N. I. SOTSERDOTOVA (*eds.*). *Rukovodstvo Uchebno Vospitatelnoi Rabotoi v Vosimletnei Shkole* (*Leadership of Teaching-Learning Work in Eight-Year Schools*). Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR, 1961. 359 p.

A textbook for directors of 8-year schools, this volume is written in a style similar to that of administration textbooks published in the United States. Unlike Deineko's *Spravochnik Direktora Shkola*, mentioned earlier in this list of readings, this book has no official status; it is simply a well-written educational administration book covering such topics as the role of the director and his class leaders, inventory and accounting in the school, the director and his pedagogical council, the role of the director in student organizations, teaching methods, and working with parents. This book affords the reader an insight into current administrative practice in the USSR.

KOROL, ALEXANDER G. *Soviet Education for Science and Technology*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957. 513 p.

A comprehensive examination of the Soviet educational system as it was organized in

1957, this book examines in some detail, textbooks, curricula, and examinations. Of special interest to persons interested in Soviet school administration are chapters describing the administration of technicums and higher education.

KOZLOV, F. R. *Ob Izmeneniyach v Ustave Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskoyo Sayuza, Doklad na XXII Syezde Partii 28 Oktyabrya 1961* (Amendments to the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Report to the 22d Party Congress, Oct. 28, 1961, Moscow, 1961). 51 p.

This report to the 22d Party Congress, CPSU, has been translated into several languages and is available through the Foreign Languages Publishing House. Frol Kozlov gives a comprehensive analysis of the rules governing the CPSU and explains the rationale for certain basic modifications in the rules. One of the best sources available to the reader who seeks to understand Party-State relationships in the Soviet Union.

MEDLIN, WILLIAM K. "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Chapter 6 in Theodore L. Reller *and* Edgar L. Morphet, *Comparative Educational Administration.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962. 438 p.

Professor Medlin's description of the structure of education in the USSR is particularly useful to the educationist who has little familiarity with Soviet education. Dr. Medlin presents a broad picture of the government of education at all levels, discusses the administration of special schools, and presents, in an abbreviated form, some of the problems facing Soviet educational administrators.

———, CLARENCE B. LINDQUIST, *and* MARSHALL L. SCHMITT. *Soviet Education; Programs* (Bulletin 1960, No. 17; OE–14037). U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1960. 281 p.

This volume represents the third U.S. Office of Education study of education in the Soviet Union. Although its central focus is the balance between the science and nonscience elements of the educational program of Soviet schools, it contains several interesting sections on the organization and control of Soviet institutions of learning.

ROSTOW, W. W., ALFRED LEVIN, *and others. The Dynamics of Soviet Society.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1953. 282 p.

This book represents the combined efforts of scholars at the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and although it is a relatively old publication, it presents an excellent historical backdrop against which one can make judgments about contemporary life in the USSR. Of particular interest to students of administration are the chapters dealing with the bureaucratization of the instruments of power, the relationship between the economy and power, the instability of executive power, and power within the higher bureaucracy.

ROTHSTEIN, ANDREW (*ed.*). *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960. 766 p.

A book which must be read not for its historical accuracy, but for its representative point of view. This volume, presenting the current Party interpretation of Soviet domestic and world history, stretches historical interpretation beyond the bounds of credulity, but in doing so presents the Western student of Soviet life an insight into the value system of the Soviet Man. An indispensable source for the serious student of Soviet school administration.

RUDMAN, HERBERT C. "School Administration," Chapter 5. In George Z. F. Bereday, William W. Brickman, *and* Gerald H. Read (*eds.*), *The Changing Soviet School.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960. 514 p.

This chapter outlines some of the State organs responsible for the administration of Soviet education and presents a detailed description of the training programs for school administrators in the Soviet Union. Of special interest are the detailed teaching plans (*uchebny plani*) for the preparation of inspectors of schools and chairmen of district and large-city departments of education.

SCOTT, DEREK J. R. *Russian Political Institutions.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961. 265 p.

Designed as an introductory textbook about the political institutions of the Soviet Union, this publication contains certain chapters that are particularly useful to the student of Soviet school administration. Although schools receive a surprisingly sketchy treatment by Professor Scott, his chapters on the Communist Party, conventional governmental organs, and decision-making are excellent.

Soviet Commitment to Education (Bulletin 1959, No. 16; OE–14062). U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959. 135 p.

A report of the first U.S. Office of Education mission to the Soviet Union. Although some of the information in this bulletin is outdated, it still serves a useful function as an overview of the structure and administration of Soviet education. Of particular relevance are the sections describing the Moscow City Department of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR.

Ustav Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskoyo Sayuza Prinyat XXII Syezdom KPSS, 31 Oktyabrya 1961 (Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Adopted by the 22d Congress of the CPSU, Oct. 31, 1961, Moscow, 1961). 31 p.

A singularly important document, published in several languages, this pamphlet is available from the Foreign Languages Publishing House. This is a primary source document that every student of Soviet school administration should read, for contained within these rules are the structure and decision-making processes of the Party organizations. The rules cover all aspects of Party activities, including the rights and responsibilities of Party members, requirements for membership, structure of Party organs at each territorial level, a description of Party organizations in the Soviet army, and the role that Party groups play in non-Party organizations.

VOLKOVSKOYO, A. N. *and* M. P. MALYSHEVA (*eds.*). *Shkolovedenye* (Schoolkeeping). Moscow: State Pedagogical Publishing House, 1955. 518 p.

This textbook is widely used in Institutes for the Advanced Training of teachers. Of particular interest are the chapters dealing with basic problems of school leadership, pedagogical leadership, organization of school work and of students; and sections dealing with the specific responsibilities of class leaders, directors of schools, teachers' councils, and school inspectors.

APPENDIX B

Glossary of Russian Terms Used in This Publication

Russian	*English*
Centralnoyo Institut Usovershenstovovanyo Uchitelie	Central Institute for the Advanced Studies for Teachers
Dietgiz	State Publishing House for Children's Literature
Docent	Soviet academic title roughly equivalent to Associate Professor
Gorod	City
Gorono	City Department of Education
Kollegium	Board
Krai	Province
Oblast	Region
Oblono	Regional Department of Education
Otdel Shkol, VUZov i Nauki	Department of Schools, Higher Education and Science
Raion	District
Raiono	District Department of Education
Sborniki	Bulletin . . . a collection of regulations and policies
Sektory	Subsection
Uchpedgiz	State Publishing House for Teaching and Pedagogical Materials

APPENDIX C

Ministries and Committees Administering Higher Education in the 15 Soviet Union-Republics [1]

Union-Republic	*Organization*
Russian SFSR	Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Armenian SSR	Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Azerbaidzhan SSR	Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Belorussian SSR	Ministry of Higher Secondary Specialized, and Vocational Education
Estonian SSR	State Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Georgian SSR	State Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Kazakh SSR	Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Kirgiz SSR	Ministry of Education
Latvian SSR	State Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Lithuanian SSR	State Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Moldavian SSR	Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Tadzhik SSR	State Committee of Higher, Secondary Specialized, and Vocational-Technical Education
Turkmen SSR	State Committee of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Ukrainian SSR	Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education
Uzbek SSR	Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education

[1] From a U.S. Office of Education bulletin, *Higher Education in the USSR* (Bulletin 1963, No. 16; OE–14088), by Seymour M. Rosen. In it the author points out that fewer than half of the institutions of higher learning are administered by the listed higher education ministries and committees. A greater number are administered by Government agencies directly concerned with fields of specialized training, such as health, agriculture (Ministry of Health, Ministry of Agriculture), and the like.

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